The Outlook

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THE STORY OF THE WAR: GERMANY'S NOTE

The war topic which excited the most interest and the most discussion last week was, naturally, the reply of Germany to our Government's second note relating to the Lusitania slaughter and the questions that grew out of that event. Elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook will be found the full text of the German note, The Outlook's view of its significance, and a collection of representative opinions on the subject from the American press.

THE CONQUEST OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA

Nothing in the actual war news of the week was so significant as the confirmed report of the surrender of all the German forces under arms in German Southwest Africa to General Botha, Commander of the Forces of the Union of South Africa. By the supplementary terms of surrender, signed by the Imperial Governor of German Southwest Africa, the entire property of the colonial Government, as well as all military forces and all munitions of war in the colony, are ceded to the Union of South Africa.

General Botha's campaign has been one of the most remarkable in the entire war. Despite a rebellion in his own forces, which he had first to subdue, he traveled almost twelve hundred miles, most of the way through a practically waterless desert swept by blinding sandstorms, won three pitched battles, captured eleven important towns, and finally rounded up the Germans as a collie rounds up sheep, forcing them to surrender in a body, and thus obviating a prolongation of the struggle by guerrilla methods.

General Botha's victory releases much of his contingent for service on the Continent or at the Dardanelles. Of all the overseas possessions which she had a year ago Germany now retains only Kamerun and a part of German East Africa. British, French, and native forces are now operating against these territories, and it is probably only a question of time before they too will be lopped from the German Empire.

At the beginning of the war Germany had the following colonies and protectorates:

Africa.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.
Togoland	33,700	1,000,000
Kamerun	190,000	3,500,000
Southwest Africa	322,450	200,000
East Africa	364,000	7,000,000
Total	910,150	11,700,000
Pacific.		
German New Guinea.	70,000	110,000 (?)
Bismarck Archipelago	20,000	188,000
Caroline Islands, etc.	800	41,600
Solomon Islands	4,200	45,000
Marshall Islands	160	15,000
Samoan Islands	985	33,000
Total	96,145	432,600
Asia.		
Kiaochau	117	60,000
Total	1,006,412	12,192,600

Togoland and German Samoa were made British before the first month of war was out; Australians captured New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago early in September; on October 7 the Japanese seized the Caroline, Solomon, and Marshall Islands; while on November 7 a combined force of Japanese and British-Indians captured Kiaochau.

This latest triumph of British arms is most noteworthy because it is one more proof of the wisdom of the British methods of colonial government. Fifteen years ago General Botha was fighting England, and Germany was openly in sympathy with the Boer cause. Yet so wisely, so kindly, and so tolerantly have the British ruled in Africa since the end of the Transvaal War that, when the crisis came last August, General Botha and most of his race did not hesitate in the choice between England and their ancient friend Germany, but threw in their lot with Great Britain with such zeal that they first put down a rebellion by a minority of their fellow-colo-

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nists, and then turned to the direct attack on the Teutonic forces in Africa.

The action of Botha's men, like the action of the Canadians at Ypres, and like the conduct of the Australians on the Gallipoli Peninsula, is a vindication of British methods of empire-building.

ON THE FOUR FRONTS IN EUROPE

The fighting at the Dardanelles, in Italy, and in France and Belgium brought no big piece of news during the week. The opposing forces on the Gallipoli Peninsula are practically deadlocked, and it becomes more and more evident that the British at first greatly underestimated the difficulties of forcing the western gate to Constantinople. News from Italy has been remarkably scarce, an indication that Italy and Austria have now come to close grips, have found each other evenly matched, and are straining and feeling for an opening like two wary wrestlers.

As we go to press, however, there comes a report that Italian soldiers have captured two miles of Austrian trenches in the Carnic Alps, dragging their artillery to a height of 6,600 feet to do it. In spectacular features the fighting on the Austro-Italian border is second to that on no other front in the war.

The Germans more frequently than their opponents have been the aggressors in France and Belgium recently. The fighting in the Vosges and in the region of Verdun has apparently been to the permanent advantage of neither army. But at Souchez a desperate attempt won the Germans half a mile of ground.

The almost complete halt of the Austro-German forces in Galicia is puzzling. To the southeast and northeast of Lemberg, having driven the Russians across the Zlota Lipa River and across the upper reaches of the Bug, the Teutons intrenched themselves on the western banks of these streams without making any serious effort to accomplish a passage. The left wing of their Galician army, it is claimed by Petrograd, was beaten back at Krasnick in southern Poland, where last summer the Austrians gained their first great victory.

Has the Austro-German drive reached its limit just when it was threatening a deathblow to Russia, as the Russian offensive reached its limit in the Carpathians a few months ago, when it looked as if Hungary was about to be deluged by a Slavic flood? Or is the wily Mackensen only marking time while he plans a new surprise for his enemies?

However that may be, one thing is certain. To make worth while the tremendous losses that they have sustained in their recent gigantic forward movement the Teutons must do more than merely roll over vast stretches of Russian territory. They must crush the Russian armies or they must take Warsaw. Napoleon's Moscow campaign proved the uselessness of merely pushing the Russians into their limitless interior. If Mackensen cannot trap the Russians between two or more of his own armies and grind them to pieces so thoroughly that it will be months before the Czar can strike another blow, he must take Warsaw, with its many railways, which are the arteries sustaining the Russian defense.

Two previous attempts have apparently proved the folly of attacking Warsaw from the front alone. The greatest chance of getting the great Polish city lies in a simultaneous attack from the Bzura and Rawka Rivers in front, from Przasnysz on the northwest, and from the general position that the Austro-Germans now hold in Poland, southeast of Warsaw. But for such an attack from the southeast to succeed the Teutonic line must roll forward all the way from Poland to Bessarabia, lest the Russians break through and get on the flank and rear of the armies attacking Warsaw. And recent attempts at such a sweeping advance of their wide-flung line have been blocked, notably on the Bug and on the Zlota Lipa. This is the consideration that may spell calamity for General von Mackensen.

THE SPIRIT THAT SWAYS ITALY

Two testimonies concerning the spirit that really sways Italy have just come to hand. The first is in a letter from the Marchioness de Viti di Marco, of Rome, formerly Miss Etta Dunham, of New York, to the Special Relief Society, from which we are privileged to quote:

> Everybody has been hard at work the past ten days making masks against the asphyxiating gases. . . . What is America waiting for? Why not come out straight and clear, with a firm condemnation of Germany's whole system, refusing to recognize in her a member of the family of civilized nations? . . . Such a fierce wind of indignation, sweeping away the chaff and burning out of dross, and affirming from the uprightness of the soul that Italy stands for liberty, for jus-

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tice, for honor, and humanity! It has been a purifying whirlwind, and all have felt themselves uplifted to the heights of sacrifice—for an idea—for the future of Italy and of humanity!

The second testimony is found in an article published in the New York "Sun," by Professor Paul van Dyke, of Princeton University, recounting his conclusions after a recent lengthy sojourn in Italy. It is natural, of course, for Italy to wish to make the Trentino Italian in political name as it is in ethnological fact. But this is not all, by any means, which animates the Italian spirit. Professor van Dyke quotes the Milan "Secolo," the well-known radical paper:

> Our soldiers all know . . . that this is a war of punitive and preventive justice for us and for others—for our hearthstones and for all the hearthstones of the world, for our sons and grandsons, but also for our brothers of the human family throughout all the world, for those who were maltreated in Belgium and were sunk with the Lusitania.

Another citation is from the Milan "Corriere della Sera," even better known in this country:

> Has there not yet flashed upon the German mind the vision of what this great world war now stands for—that is, the crusade of civilized nations against the conspiring enemies of peace, a gigantic police action to put two dangerous known criminals into a condition where they are unable to do any more harm?

Professor van Dyke's observations make him believe that the immediate and most cogent causes of the European war are psychological; that it is not true, as assumed by writers like Bernhardi and Cramb, that great nations are periodically driven into war by some inevitable necessity, and that, while it may be possible for statesmen and rulers to bring on war in a cold-blooded fashion, moved by considerations of material interest or of more or less unworthy national pride, the men who now fill the graves or groan in the hospitals have been fighting because they think justice and right require it. Though Professor van Dyke's sympathies are with the Allies, he declares his conviction that this observation is just as true of the German peoples as of any other peoples now fighting.

A UNIQUE WAR DEBATE

A clever and original piece of journalistic work appeared recently in the Chicago "Tribune." It is a friendly argument about the war between two writers engaged in work for the same newspaper. Mr. Robert R. McCormick is one of the proprietors of the Chicago "Tribune;" Mr. James O'Donnell Bennett is a special correspondent of the "Tribune" also. Mr. Bennett has been in England, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, and Russia; Mr. McCormick, in England, France, Austria, Russia, the Balkans, and Greece. But Mr. McCormick has spent far more time in Russia than his colleague, while Mr. Bennett has spent much of his time in Germany. The two men, meeting in Norway, had not seen each other for a year. Naturally, they sat down and talked matters over. Mr. Bennett's view of German power and German ability was extremely high; Mr. McCormick's view of the probabilities of the Allies' success in the war, and especially of the power and persistence of Russia, was equally strong. Out of their discussion grew a courteous but forceful debate which is decidedly worth reading. It would be impossible to follow the debate here; but we think the manner and matter of this unusual newspaper treatment of basic questions are worthy of note.

CARRANZA'S FORCES IN MEXICO CITY

The occupation of the capital of Mexico last week by the forces of General Carranza undoubtedly opens a new phase of the always changing Mexican situation. It would be unwise, however, to draw hasty conclusions. The probability is that it may be a long time before the hope expressed in Washington last week will be realized that there will be such a concentration of power in Carranza's hands as may make it possible in the near future for our Government to accept the rule of Carranza as the will of the Mexican people and to deal with him as at least the *de facto* head of Mexico.

It must be remembered that the Carranza forces have occupied Mexico City before, and there is possibly some point in the sardonic remark of Huerta to the effect that the climate of the capital is salubrious and that he hoped that Carranza might enjoy his brief stay there. At all events, while Zapata has been driven from the city, he has not been driven from the vicinity, and reports come as we write that he is again threatening to cut off the water supply and to drive his enemies out by thirst. The troops which captured Mexico City were commanded by General Pablo Gonzales. He found the city in a deplorable

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state as regards supplies and financial conditions. Up to July 14 there seemed to be little direct telegraphic communication, and the railway communication from Vera Cruz was not fully established.

How will this situation affect the activities of Carranza's chief enemy, General Villa? As usual, there have been conflicting reports. One is that he is to move directly on Mexico City. But this seems hardly probable. His immediate enemy is General Obregon, and one report asserts that Villa has declared that all he desires is to inflict one crushing defeat upon Obregon, and that he will then turn over the command to General Robles and leave Mexico. It is safe to predict that, if the crushing defeat takes place, this intention will not be realized, if, indeed, it exists. Still another report is that the generals under Villa's command have urged him to give way now to General Robles, with a view to a peaceable conclusion of the quarrel between Villa and Carranza.

THE BANKER-FARMER

The American Bankers' Association, through its agricultural commission, is engaged in a very valuable work of education and co-operation. Most trade associations organized for such a purpose are satisfied with building up improved business facilities for themselves. "Education" of a trade generally means the education of the men connected with it in their own best interests. "Co-operation" means the co-operation of the same men in furthering the cause of their own bread and butter. While all this is true of the movement started by the American Bankers' Association, the Banker-Farmer Conference, held in Chicago under the auspices of the Bankers' Association, had a very much broader justification for existence. It was a carefully planned effort to educate both bankers and farmers in the interdependence of their two professions, and in the fact that the co-operation of finance and farming is essential to the success of both. Represented at this Conference were many agricultural colleges and many of the leading farm papers. The United States Department of Agriculture sent Mr. Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, to discuss "The New Agriculture;" and the country church was represented by the Rev. W. W. Diehl, of Illinois, who contributed a discussion on "Some Things the Country Church Must Do to Improve Rural Life." Delegates attended from banks all over the country; one bank, the Plymouth Trust Company, of Brockton, Massachusetts, sending five men to study the best methods of encouraging co-operation between bankers and farmers.

The chairman of the Conference was Mr. B. F. Harris, editor of the "Banker-Farmer" and Chairman of the Agricultural Commission of the American Bankers' Association. In opening the Conference Mr. Harris said:

> If any two men go hand in hand and play the large part in the matter of good times, it is the farmer and banker. It is not unusual that the country banker—who is frequently banker-farmer—who is brought so closely into touch with the inefficiencies and shortcomings of farming and farm life, should appreciate some of these facts more than most men; but it is quite unusual that any large class of business men and their great State organizations should begin a comprehensive and unselfish campaign in behalf of another class of men. . . .
>
> Our State associations have active and aggressive committees on agriculture and education, and the American Bankers' Association has an agricultural commission that aids in directing the work. This commission alone is spending thousands of dollars each year, and, with many devoted adherents, is earnestly working for a better agriculture and rural life—for the big, broad, human side of things—for a better civilization.

The platform of the "Banker-Farmer," the organ of the American Bankers' Association, puts in more concrete form the sentiments expressed by Mr. Harris in this quotation. It declares for agricultural education in the country school, the establishment of a practical and scientific county agent in every agricultural county in the country, for increased transportation facilities, for the perfection of our system of farm credits, for the development of co-operative efforts in marketing and distribution of farm products, and for a complete system of soil surveys and crop statistics.

The work which the American Bankers' Association is doing is well worth the attention of those interested in the improvement of living conditions in our agricultural districts.

OUR BALANCE OF TRADE VS. REAL PROSPERITY

In speaking of the billion dollar excess of exports over imports for the fiscal year ending June 30, The Outlook pointed out last week that such a favorable "balance of

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trade" is not necessarily a good thing in the ultimate analysis.

Much jubilation over this preponderance of exports has been expressed in some quarters. We believe, however, that such a balance of trade is not a sure evidence of fiscal well-being.

A preponderance of exports presumably means an influx of gold. If gold is what we desire, then such a balance of trade is a proper reason for complacency and elation. But there may be other things more desirable than gold. If what the Nation most needs is rubber, leather, or violins, or paintings, for example, then a surplus of gold may be unwelcome.

In considering the present balance of trade, the New York "Times" points out that our total foreign trade in the first eleven months of the year 1914–15—for which exact statistics are available—was only $32,126,000 greater than that for the corresponding eleven months for 1912–13. "The normal tendency of our foreign trade is to expand," says the "Times." "Without the war, with such a crop as this country raised last year, and especially as Europe's production of wheat was subnormal, the increase of foreign trade (exports and imports together) over that of 1912–13 might have been, and ought to have been, six or eight per cent. Therefore, in spite of the high excess of exports, the total of our foreign trade on account of the war actually has been reduced. The cessation of imports is a measure of what American industry has felt in terms of loss. Imports consist principally of goods which enter directly into manufacture, remanufacture, or industrial consumption, all requiring labor in some form, so that when imports fall there must be a corresponding unemployment of labor."

It is true, as the "Times" goes on to say, "that if it were put to a vote of commercial-minded people to continue or end the war, purely as a business matter, even the manufacturers of war munitions would undoubtedly vote with all the rest to end it."

What we want from Europe is not a surplus of gold, but goods for our own consumption and raw material for our idle factories to work on. The present balance of trade is as unhealthy as the flush of apparent health on the cheeks of a consumptive.

CONGRATULATIONS TO A CONTEMPORARY

The proprietors and the staff of the New York "Times" recently gave a dinner in the Times Building in honor of Charles R. Miller, who has been editorially connected with that newspaper for forty years. He well deserves the honor which comes in happy conjunction with a recognition by Columbia University of his distinguished services as a newspaper editor. The United States is so vast a country and has so many centers of population of industrial and social life that it is impossible for any one American newspaper to attain the magnitude either of influence or reputation which was gained in the English-speaking world by the London "Times" in the days of John Walter the second and John Delane. But, according to our taste and liking, the New York "Times" has no superior in this part of the world. In its presentation of the news of the war during the past year it has been really a great newspaper. It has had a fine career, having produced in the past at least one editor of National reputation, Henry J. Raymond, and one publisher of National reputation, George Jones. The success of the present régime of the "Times" indicates that it combines the standards and abilities of Mr. Raymond and Mr. Jones in its present editor, Mr. Miller, and its present publisher, Mr. Adolph Ochs. Their administration has shown that a great daily newspaper may be dignified and yet interesting, upright in character and yet commercially successful.

At the dinner in honor of Mr. Miller, Mr. Ochs, the publisher and chief stockholder, said that it cost nearly four million dollars a year to publish the "Times"—that is to say, to pay for salaries, wages, white paper, printers' ink, and the cost of obtaining the news and other articles, and that this large sum had to be earned before the stockholders could receive any dividends. A somewhat cynical newspaper man in New York City some years ago declared at a Press Club dinner that the getting out of a metropolitan daily was simply a manufacturing operation. The proprietor and the factory bought a raw material called paper at one cent a pound, treated it with another raw material called printers' ink, put it through a machine called a printing-press, and sold the finished product at ten cents a pound. A good many daily newspapers are run on this principle. They apparently have no use in their manufacturing process for brains, morals, or æsthetics. The New York "Times" is conducted on the opposite plan. It believes—and lives well up to the belief—that intelligent readers are capable of appre-

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ciating the work of intelligent editors. We are glad to join in the congratulations given by their colleagues to Mr. Miller and Mr. Ochs on the eminent success which they have achieved in proving that really first-class journalism can be made honorably profitable in this world with a very good chance of receiving a stamp of approval in the next!

THE "NATION'S" FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY

The "Nation" is fifty years old. Most of that time it was directed by Edwin Lawrence Godkin and Wendell Phillips Garrison, two notable names in the history of American journalism. Since then the "Nation" has been well carried on according to now time-honored tradition by Hammond Lamont and Paul Elmer More.

"You cannot make an editor out of a war correspondent," is an expression one hears sometimes. But that was not true in Godkin's case. Of Irish birth, he had, like others of his countrymen, become a brilliant war correspondent. This was during the Crimean War, when he sent remarkable letters to the London "Daily News." In the 60's he came to New York and tried to settle down to the practice of law. But in 1865 his friends, attracted by his comprehensive knowledge, logical reasoning, sturdy independence, high sense of duty, public spirit, and especially by his vigorous and incisive way of expressing his opinions, founded the "Nation" and made him editor-in-chief. Here, and later in editing the New York "Evening Post" (of which, after 1881, the "Nation" became in some sort the weekly edition), he amply fulfilled expectations. A man of sound scholarship, of vigorous phrase, a master of sarcasm, his aggressiveness was particularly marked at such times of our National history as the period of the Reconstruction iniquities, the Alabama Claims controversy, the Hayes-Tilden dispute, the era of civil service reform development, the Blaine and, later, the Bryan campaigns, the railway rate regulation improvements, the various attacks on the Nation's financial integrity, and, above all, in attacks on the rightful status of the Negro.

At times Mr. Godkin seemed a pamphleteer rather than an editor; certain it was that he stirred up many foemen worthy of his steel. But as a desirable curb to his boldness there were the detachment, the cool judgment, and the minuteness of attention to detail of a Garrison as adviser. No one saw the fitness of this more clearly than Mr. Godkin himself. He once wrote to his colleague, "If anything happens to you, I shall retire to a monastery." After Mr. Godkin became editor-in-chief of the New York "Evening Post," Mr. Garrison became editor of the "Nation," and, as has been well said, the "Nation" became precisely what Mr. Garrison thought it ought to be. Especially as a literary editor Mr. Garrison did perhaps more than any one in this country to advance the general quality of literary criticism.

Among the "Nation's" many distinguished collaborators are such names as James Russell Lowell, Charles Eliot Norton, Daniel Coit Gilman, Carl Schurz, W. C. Brownell (who, by the way, contributes a delightful article of reminiscence to the anniversary number), and James Bryce. In a very real sense, then, the "Nation" is and has always been a journal of distinction, a power whose quality and influence could never be measured by the quantity of its circulation. The "Nation" has sometimes been slightingly called a "high-brow" publication. The inaccuracy of such a criticism is shown by an incident related by the editors in the anniversary number: "Not long ago, a man who had spent forty-five years in the service of a railway, rising from train-hand to conductor of a trunk-line express, spoke simply of the 'Nation,' which he had read for all that time, as 'the only university I have been able to attend.'"

A PROMISE OF NEW "LIFE ON THE MISSISSIPPI"

There is no more fascinating chapter in American industrial history than that which deals with the thriving days when the Mississippi River was alive with commerce and the towering, ornate, paddle-wheel steamboats were in their prime. The old days of bustling "Life on the Mississippi" of which Mark Twain wrote have gone forever. The river queens of the type of the Prairie Belle—of which John Hay sang—have long ago either been broken up for kindling wood or, in a few cases, are preserved at the docks of the big river cities—curious relics of an outgrown age; while the bones of most of the group of intrepid, profane, and picturesque skippers who drove these stately side-wheelers in many a heart-wearing race are buried by the river that they knew and cursed and loved so well.

Those happy days will not return, but there

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are indications that something of the great commerce of the past will be won back by the Mississippi. About a year ago a party of Southern business men made a trial trip on a self-propelled freight barge from New Orleans to St. Paul. The trip was undertaken as an experiment to produce accurate data in regard to the cost of river transportation under modern methods. So satisfactory were the results of this trial trip that the owners of the barge have been able to raise five million dollars as capital for the construction of a fleet of large, self-propelled freight barges using gas engines operating on coal gas. The direct conversion of coal into power without the medium of steam has proved so satisfactory that the economic success of the enterprise seems assured. The score of heavy steel barges now built or building will be used on the lower Mississippi, probably between New Orleans and St. Louis, and, says the "Review" of the Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis, which is interested in this project, "shippers along the route have contracted to ship goods at existing railroad rates and are to receive stock in the company in proportion to the freight that they pay. This has been said to be equal to a twenty-five per cent rebate, and should result in increasing the fleet of barges in the very near future to extend the service to Minneapolis and St. Paul, after which time it is contemplated to reduce freight rates and issue no more stock. Whether this practice will interfere at all with the existing commerce of the railroads or will open an entirely new field to Minneapolis remains to be seen. It is probable that satisfactory and economical river transportation would be a benefit, not only to the city, but to the present transportation interests."

Apart from economic considerations, it will be a satisfaction to the dwellers along its banks to see the big, shifting, inscrutable Mississippi take on a new lease of life. What almost forgotten river lore may not now be revived, what new tales and traditions may not now be concocted for the delight of future generations! American literature, already much in debt to the Father of Waters, is bound to be further enriched by a revivification of Mississippi traffic.

HOLMES: HERO

A public servant has just died who gave his life for his country as truly as did ever a soldier on the battlefield.

Joseph Austin Holmes, Director of the Bureau of Mines in the Department of the Interior, was only fifty-five years old. He had accomplished an immense scientific and humane work, and he did it at the cost of his life.

He was a South Carolinian by birth. After graduating at Cornell, he became Professor of Geology at the University of North Carolina, and later also was appointed State Geologist. In 1904 President Roosevelt made him Chief of the United States Geological Survey laboratories, which have headquarters in Pittsburgh and St. Louis, and are used for the testing of fuels and structural materials. Here his noteworthy services brought him an appointment as head of the technological branch of the Geological Survey, which is in charge of the investigation of mine accidents. When the Bureau of Mines was created in the Taft Administration, Dr. Holmes became its chief, and under his management superb progress was made in perfecting methods of saving life and in lessening the dangers to which underground workers are exposed. Dr. Holmes organized the first National Mine Safety Demonstration, which was held in Pittsburgh in 1911; it was largely attended, and resulted in a great spread of information as to preventing danger and loss of life among mine-owners, superintendents, managers, and miners.

One of Dr. Holmes's important discoveries was that the dust from bituminous coal was more dangerous to miners than was fire damp, a discovery quite contrary to the old theory which taught that coal dust could not explode without gas, and which had cost many thousands of lives.

Dr. Holmes's discoveries and accomplishments were the result of first-hand investigation. His frequent visits to mines in which there had been disasters, and his continual insistence on going only where his trained rescue crews should go, his sharing the dangers that should have come only to more robust men, resulted in the contraction of tuberculosis, which now numbers this brilliant and efficient man among its hordes of victims.

In the accomplishment of his work Dr. Holmes always added a touch of that indefinable something we call charm and of that definable something we call consecration. No one could have looked into his earnest face, no one could have watched the spare form bending over the laboratory table, no one could have approached him without

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being conscious of the presence of a man who was always ready to sacrifice himself for the good of his fellow-man.

HONOR AMONG PRISONERS

During the last two years there has been no experiment in prison management which has received more consideration and elicited more comment than the "honor system" inaugurated by Warden Edmund M. Allen, at the State Prison of Illinois, located at Joliet, near Chicago. The principle upon which this system is based is revealed in these words of Mr. Allen: "The Golden Rule is the biggest asset of all in handling criminals. They're human, these prisoners of mine, and I never forget it."

When, on June 20, the wife of Warden Allen was reported murdered, and probably by the hand of one of the honor system men, some critics of the unique experiment in prison management believed they had justification for their criticisms. Friends of the new system of management contend that the honor plan has not been proved a failure by this recent tragedy, and, while conceding that some revision of the system may be made, they maintain that as a principle of management it will be a permanent feature in the prison. It is reported that the other prisoners at Joliet, on hearing of the crime, were vehement in their denunciation of the murderer, or of the prisoner who was strongly suspected of guilt. No one has taken more pride in the honor system than the prisoners themselves; they are said to feel great responsibility for the success of the experiment and to desire its continuance.

That Warden Allen's reform ideas are supported by the State is indicated by the fact that during the week before the tragedy the Legislature put its stamp of approval on two of his reform plans. Both houses passed a bill inspired by the Warden which gives life-termers an opportunity to be paroled after spending twenty years in prison. The other bill passed by the Legislature concerned Mr. Allen's road camp scheme, by which prisoners are privileged to work on the roads in the community, unhampered by any restrictions except that they cannot leave the camp nor partake of intoxicating liquor. This privilege was permitted only to men who had less than five years of their terms yet to serve. By the act of the Legislature this restriction was done away with.

AN HONOR FARM IN OPERATION

The most striking of Warden Allen's reform plans is the "Honor Farm," which has attracted the attention of reform workers all over the world, and which has been copied by many similar institutions throughout the country.

A few years ago the State, standing behind its State Prison Commission, purchased twenty-two hundred fertile acres within three miles of the penitentiary, and to-day this land is being worked by about one hundred and fifty "honor convicts." Last year, when activities at the farm began, there were less than sixty men at work.

Practically the entire plot of ground has been put into crops. In addition to the agricultural labor, the houses on the farm have been repaired and rebuilt by the convicts. They work under the superintendency of B. H. Faltz, who is known as the farm manager. That the farm can be made to pay is indicated by the following facts: Two hundred acres are this year laid out as truck gardens, the vegetables raised therein being supplied to the men who are still within the walls of the prison. It is believed by Warden Allen that within a short time enough vegetables can be raised to furnish food for all the convicts of the prison. A start has been made also in the dairy business. There is room enough on the farm to care for cows in sufficient number to provide dairy products for all the State institutions.

It is the intention of the Warden, as soon as funds are secured from the State, to build a new penitentiary, and his honor convicts will be used largely in the work of preparation for building and in the actual building itself. Nearly four hundred more men will be at once transferred to the honor list, to be used in the new enterprise.

The rules under which these honor convicts live are very few and simple. They may not leave the farm; they must obey the instructions of the captain in charge, J. C. Carver, formerly of the Philippines, and of the farm manager; they must go to their rooms at a certain hour in the evening; no intoxicating liquors can be used by any of the men. It is a remarkable fact that not a gun nor an armed guard is seen within the precincts of the farm. There are the two overseers above mentioned, and a few watchmen for night service. And yet during the two years in which the honor farm has

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been in operation but six men have made an effort to escape. Five of these were caught and brought back to stone walls for the rest of their lives.

Among the innovations introduced by Warden Allen in the conduct of the prison are the abolition of the rule of silence and the provision for athletics for the men during recreation hour.

The results of these changes have been an improvement in the health of the inmates, a decrease in the number of offenses requiring discipline, and an almost total absence of the sullen and furtive spirit which is usually found in penal institutions.

A BOOMING INDUSTRY

The moving-picture industry has grown so rapidly that the Census officials have hardly been able to keep it in sight. Only the most meager statistics are available at the Census Bureau, but the moving-picture men themselves have recently compiled data, apparently reliable, which tells the romantic story of the beanstalk development of motion pictures.

Seventeen years ago Albert E. Smith and J. Stuart Blackton began the manufacture of cinematograph films in a little shop in Brooklyn, New York. There had been other experimenters before them, but these two, who are now, with a third partner, Mr. William J. Rock, at the head of the Vitagraph Company of America, were the first to develop the manufacture of moving pictures on a large scale. At first, however, the two young men encountered the difficulties and discouragements that beset pioneers in any branch of activity. They manufactured their own film, and on the roof of their studio took turns turning the crank of a camera and acting the simple screen dramas of the time. They were also their own cashier, treasurer, and business force; and a bell, ingeniously connected with the front door of their studio, warned the alternating actor-photographers on the roof of the approach of prospective customers.

The first moving pictures were one reel in length and cost about two hundred dollars. To-day the ordinary "feature" film often runs to seven or eight reels, at an average cost of twenty-five thousand dollars. It is not uncommon to spend as much as twenty thousand dollars on a single reel of one of these stupendous picture productions. In 1913 it was carefully estimated that the moving-picture industry was the fifth largest in the country and that two hundred and seventy-five million dollars in admissions was being taken in annually by moving-picture theaters. It is claimed that the "movies" now stand second or third in the rank of the country's industries.

Enough film is made every year to stretch twice around the earth, each foot of film containing sixteen separate pictures. Every day fifteen million persons go to the moving picture theaters, at an admission price of from five cents to two dollars per capita. In 1913 one hundred and twenty-five million dollars was expended by moving-picture manufacturers in salaries, material, and in direct cost of production alone. The salaries of actors for the movies have jumped from one dollar a day, and from fifteen to twenty dollars a week, to as high as from fifteen to twenty-five thousand dollars a year, while it is not infrequent for a well-known author to reap a small fortune in royalties from a dramatization of a single novel. For instance, from the moving-picture productions of "The Christian" Hall Caine has already received $23,500.

The "movies" will probably never entirely supplant the ordinary stage with its flesh-and-blood actors, but they have already sounded the death knell of the small, one-night-stand, barnstorming theatrical companies. Moreover, such artistic and scenic motion-picture productions as "Cabiria" and "The Birth of a Nation" are cutting into the profits of the "legitimate" plays in the large cities, from melodramas to Greek tragedies.

THE CALIFORNIANS AND SANTA CATALINA ISLAND

One of the praiseworthy deeds of the late California Legislature was the passage of a bill keeping Santa Catalina Island waters closed for three miles to netting for bait. The island, about twenty-two miles long and from one to four and a half miles wide, forms part of Los Angeles County, and has become a veritable Mecca to anglers from all parts of the world, as it is the meeting-ground of many great game fishes, indigenous to the locality—the leaping, the long-finned, and the yellow-finned tuna, the white sea bass, and the yellowtail.

The island waters were regarded as proper prey by the fish-market men. The "clean" fishermen, however, regarded the fishes there as a proper subject for conservation, and were especially convinced that this

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locality, being a spawning bed of the great game and market fishes of southern California, should be undisturbed.

The previous netting had resulted in a decline of half in the number of fish, the leaping tuna in particular having practically disappeared. The tuna canners had despoiled this natural resource asset. A hundred and fifty or more launches were after bait every day, and the fish, deprived of their natural food, were deserting the locality. Within the distance of a mile and a half a hundred and fifty nets have been counted.

The establishment of Santa Catalina as a fish reservation is the latest triumph of the policy of the conservation of natural resources inaugurated during the Roosevelt Administration by Mr. Gifford Pinchot, and the particular fight just won has had his special sympathy and support as well as Mr. Roosevelt's.

ADDITIONAL FORESTRY RESOURCES

The National Forest Reservation Commission has now approved the purchase of nearly a hundred thousand acres in the White and Appalachian Mountains. The cost of the lands averaged $3.88 an acre. This price indicates that, so far as timber is concerned, these were not the choicest lands. They have been examined by the Forest Service, and sales contracts will be concluded with the owners by the Secretary of Agriculture as soon as possible. Several large tracts are heavily timbered, others have been culled or cut over. The total purchases approved in the White and Appalachian Mountains now cover over 1,275,000 acres. The total acreage price paid was about $5.25.

About half a million dollars now remains of the money appropriated by Congress under the Weeks Law to acquire forested lands for watershed protection and timber conservation in the White and Appalachian Mountains.

There are at present 162 National forests, not including the Eastern purchases, but including the two National forests in Alaska and the one in Porto Rico, aggregating over 185,000,000 acres, this being the gross area, which includes alienated lands within its boundaries. Deducting these, the net area is approximately 162,000,000 acres. It may surprise some to discover that this net area exceeds the extent of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the Virginias. Our National forests contain 1,266 irrigation plants, already completed or in process of completion. The water power projects at present under permit in the National forests number 184. The timber is worth, say, $900,000,000, and the total value of the forest reserves may be placed at over $2,000,000,000.

Every year only emphasizes the present use and potential value of the reserves—in water power, timber, grazing lands, and last, not least, as centers of recreation.

DEMOCRACY AT MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

The University of Michigan will go before its thirty-five thousand alumni in October with a request for $1,000,000 to erect, equip, and endow a building for the Michigan Union—an organization which will embrace in its membership practically all the men in the University.

With its six thousand eight hundred students, gathered from every State in this country and from almost every foreign land, Michigan looks to its student Union to democratize its undergraduates, to give them a chance to educate themselves by mixing and mingling with one another; in short, to gain that broader education which comes from knowing men, and to develop the community spirit, which ordinarily, sad to say, does not develop in many college men until years after their graduation.

The criticism of the colleges, which, it must be admitted, has come with increasing insistency during the past decade, is that, instead of broadening a young man's outlook, they narrow it; that, in short, the colleges foster a spirit of class and clique snobbery.

The movement which Michigan has undertaken is valuable because it is aimed toward the effecting of an equality of opportunity. Dr. James B. Angell, President Emeritus of Michigan, is right when he says that the mind and character of students receive as deep and abiding impressions from mixing with one another as they do from class-room experience. It is not the fault of college students themselves that they leave their Alma Maters without the breadth that comes from rubbing elbows with cosmopolitans. The trouble has been that the university has not been the clearing-house that it might be for undergraduate activities, thoughts, and tendencies. No common meeting-ground has been given the student. The fact that the average student would prefer to live on a democratic plane has been proved at Michigan, where

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the members of the Greek letter fraternities—traditionally the aristocracy in all colleges—have given their enthusiastic support to the plan for the democratic Michigan Union.

THE NEW GERMAN NOTE

The new German note, like the first, is not a reply, but an evasion. That may have been excusable in the former case, as the note was avowedly not final but tentative; it is inexcusable now. The German Government could not disavow the Lusitania massacre; it does not deny its planning—unless it be in a pitifully weak intimation that the vessel sank more quickly than expected; it totally fails to offer reparation or to agree to abandon the inhuman and unlawful practices at sea of which the destruction of the Lusitania was only the culminating offense. Three times—once in the Falaba note, twice in the Lusitania notes—America has recorded its protest and affirmed its injury and the wrong done to itself, to all neutrals, and to civilization by the savagery of Germany in killing without warning or chance of escape non-combatants on merchant vessels. Impliedly Germany now tells us that she will not abandon the criminal practice, but that she is willing to talk with us about safeguarding American passengers on ships loaded and controlled as she directs. If we will abandon our plain, clear rights on the high seas, she will try to spare our lives! The suggestion is an insult.

It is not, moreover, *rights* only, but *right*, we are upholding. Privileges and profits may sometimes be abandoned; but right, never. As the leading neutral nation, America stands for the freedom of the seas, for the security of non-combatants' lives, for those basic ideas of international law which do not rest on technicalities but voice mankind's condemnation of murder and piracy. If this country had protested vigorously at the outset against the lawless invasion of Belgium and against the laying of mines by England in the North Sea, it would be in a stronger position now to uphold, not merely its own rights, but the world's cause of justice and humanity.

It is inconceivable that in any new note from the United States to Germany we should retreat an inch in our stand or in our declaration that we shall hold Germany to strict accountability for such offenses committed or which may be committed. The time for notes has gone by. Any note we can possibly send must be a repetition, and a re-repetition, of what we have said already. Self-respect requires this Nation to act; we have talked long enough. What our action should be is a question for thought and decision. The Outlook has more than once pointed out that there are several possible courses of action, none of which necessarily involves a warlike attitude. Because this is not generally understood we repeat here what we said two weeks ago on this point:

> We can declare non-intercourse with Germany, forbidding all trade between this country and the offending nation, and invite all other neutral Powers to unite with us in this policy. Or we can go further than this: We might refuse all political intercourse with Germany, and thus say in the most emphatic manner possible that we will have nothing more to do with a lawless nation until it discontinues its lawless acts. Or we might go even further than this: We might say to Germany, You refuse to us the rights of a neutral; you have put to death unarmed American citizens; you have trespassed beyond the limits which civilized nations have placed upon the action of belligerents, and therefore you have no right to expect us to perform the duties of a neutral; you have deprived yourself of all right to claim neutrality of us; we are therefore placing guards upon German ships, opening our ports to the fleets of the Allies, and, with the sanction of the Government, are furthering the sending of munitions of war to the Allies; and we shall continue to feel free from the restraints of neutrality until you return to the practice of respecting our neutral rights.
>
> Shall we limit ourselves to repeated remonstrances when our women and children have been killed, our rights to travel the high seas denied, our protest ignored when we denounce the supplanting of war as civilized peoples understand it by the barbarous slaughter of non-combatants? If so, a stain will rest on that page of our history which records that we were neither prepared nor brave enough to do anything but complain.

So far as the Germans defend their attack upon the Lusitania and the other misdeeds of their submarine warfare on merchant ships, it is as reprisal or retaliation. England, they say, has in her blockade and mine-laying exceeded former limitations of international law; therefore Germany may kill non-combatants as she chooses. This can hardly be called argument; it is that vicious misuse and expansion of technical rules that Germany has shown from the first: Antwerp has fortifications miles away from the city,

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therefore it is right and honorable purposely to drop bombs on houses in the center and kill women and children; some Belgians may have fired on German soldiers, therefore it is right to kill and burn indiscriminately in Louvain. And so on through the series of savage acts which have made Germany's conduct in this war horrible and repulsive. The old cry that England's blockade is starving German people has been over-exploited and its falsity is known. Germany is not carrying on her submarine war to get food into Germany, but to keep munitions of war out of England—a perfectly proper object, but not one to excuse atrocities. The fact is that from the beginning Germany has acted on the belief that might makes right; proof gathers that her purpose was aggressive from the start, and so far as she is now on the defensive it is from necessity alone. If neutral nations accept her plea of necessity for uncivilized warfare, they may later have to deal with that aggressive purpose exercised against themselves.

The proposal of Germany to respect American ships, or even specified belligerent merchant ships, to be used by American passengers, is a trap baited with self-interest. Not alone passengers but all non-combatants must be protected. To certify to Germany that such ships held no contraband would be to point out others not so certified for destruction, and to make ourselves accomplices if they are destroyed in defiance of the right of search and visit and regardless of life; and Germany evidently proposes to continue to do just this. Germany will not modify her submarine war to meet our rights; she asks us to waive our rights to meet her wrongdoing and to become an accessory thereto. We are not ready to help Germany accomplish the very thing which we have officially denounced and which has stirred our hearts to bitter resentment. Even to suggest it is a colossal international impertinence.

In the second Lusitania note our Government declared that it was contending "for something much greater than mere rights of property or privileges of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity, which every government honors itself in respecting and which no government is justified in resigning on behalf of those under its care and authority."

Until Germany admits its obligation to regard the rights of neutrals and non-combatants as to life and safety, it is futile folly to talk about passenger accommodations and blockades. The United States will not dicker. With or without the help of others, it should assert its rights and the rights of humanity. It must maintain as well as assert those rights, if it is to be hereafter a world power. It is impossible for this country long to acknowledge itself helpless and humiliated.

STEPPING-STONES TO LIBERTY

Mr. Bryan, in commenting upon the German note, says: "I believe that a large majority of the people will heartily approve any steps that the President may see fit to take to keep Americans out of the danger zone or separate passengers from contraband, especially from ammunition. *It is not a sacrifice of rights to avoid unnecessary risks.*"

The position taken by Mr. Bryan can be well supported by many precedents in legend and history. We take pleasure in repeating here a few of these stories from the past remodeled on the Bryan plan.

Once a tyrant placed his hat upon a staff and gave orders that all who passed should do homage. A mountaineer approached, and, fearing that to obey this order would establish a precedent restricting the liberty of his fellow-citizens upon the public highway, he hid himself in the bushes. As he disappeared he was heard to say, "*It is not a sacrifice of rights to avoid unnecessary risks.*" Because of his courageous spirit the traveler will find in the market-place of Altdorf a statue to the gallant memory of this mountaineer—William Tell.

Not in legend, but in history, is a similar story told of another William and of his labors for the freedom of the Netherlands from the tyranny of Spanish misrule. The Dutch have not yet forgotten the time when, his son carried into captivity from the University of Louvain, his property confiscated, and his person outlawed, William the Silent issued that famous "Justification of the Prince of Orange against his Calumniators," which closes with these stirring words: "*It is not a sacrifice of rights to avoid unnecessary risks.*"

Familiar to every American school-boy are the speeches of Patrick Henry. Perhaps

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this phrase from his pen was in Mr. Bryan's mind when he wrote his comment upon the German note: "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? *It is not a sacrifice of rights to avoid unnecessary risks.*"

Liberty of the sea, of the body, of the mind: this is not a garment that can be cast aside for the satisfaction of momentary convenience. It is a flag which cannot be lowered save at the cost of insulting the past and betraying the future.

THE CHALLENGE OF CHRISTIANITY

There are evidences in many parts of the world of a revival of interest in the authority of religion; not in ecclesiastical forms or theological phrases, but in the deepening feeling that men cannot live without God and that without religion rules of morality have no vital power. Thoughtful men in all parts of the East are looking with apprehension at the decay of the ethnic religions; unless some religion can take their place, they fear that the bonds which keep society together will be loosened.

In Europe the great tragedy is driving men back on the fundamental consolations of life and compelling them to ask whether, in the vast destruction of comfort, wealth, and art and the appalling waste of life, humanity must not again take refuge in faith and widen its conception of life to include its infinite issues. Viscount Bryce has not been a religious teacher, though he has been in a very real sense a man of religious spirit. He has been a publicist and a statesman, with a peculiarly clear and vigorous intelligence. His testimony to the need of religion has, therefore, a weight which does not usually attach to the words of professionally religious people. In a recent article on "The Immediate Duty of Christian Men" he says that every nation has been horrified by the "unprecedented suddenness and magnitude of this war" in which more than half of the human race is engaged. No end yet appears to its deepening shadows. On the moral side the war is even more terrifying. A frightful abyss seems to have opened. All the work done since the Middle Ages to regulate the conduct of war and to introduce mitigations seem to have been thrown away; for in no war of the last few centuries have innocent non-combatants suffered so severely.

The Government of a great and highly educated people, to whose poets, philosophers, and scientists England has owed an immeasurable debt, has not openly avowed, but actually put in practice doctrines which strike at the roots of all law and at civilized society itself. Under these circumstances many men have declared that we are seeing the bankruptcy of Christianity. It would be more true, Viscount Bryce declares, to say that we are seeing the bankruptcy of civilization itself.

What is to be done? Is there any other influence than Christianity, or indeed any force, from which it can be hoped that the world will be brought back to peace and good will? If there is no other force, cannot something be done to revive the inspiring power which Christianity has shown in its best spirits and at its best moments? The Gospel has been by far the strongest moral force during the last two centuries because it appeals to all men and because it appeals to the noblest and deepest parts of human nature. Christianity has done all that Socrates, Plato, Buddha, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius did, and in addition it has given a message of love. In this way it saved the ancient world from moral ruin. The problem now is how to apply Christianity to the facts of individual daily life. Every one must begin with his own soul. The circumstances attending the war and the challenge to Christian principles which it makes have stirred the souls of men as they have not been stirred for three centuries. Among the soldiers of France defending that country with a gallantry that moves to admiration there is a revived sense of the unseen world, and many are frank to declare that their belief in God gives them a serenity and calmness in danger which they otherwise would not have had. The churches are filling up once more, and a small army of Roman Catholic priests are serving in the trenches. In England men are feeling the triviality of common objects and pursuits compared with the great duties of the moment, and young men have responded to the call of the country in a way that had not been imagined possible in times of ease. While this impulse is fresh and strong ought it not to be turned to the fullest account? Must there not be an effort to bring individual life, social life, and business life closer to those Christian ideals "following

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which, as we believe, the best hopes of peace and the welfare of humanity are to be found"?

These are frank and strong words from a man of the highest moral integrity and political intelligence. They indicate the path by which the world is to come out of darkness and the spirit in which it is to rebuild its shattered hopes and fortunes. The life of the race is not bound up with the things which it has made with its hands, however worthy and beautiful; it is bound up with its ideals and its character, and out of this great furnace of affliction those ideals and character must issue purified and more commanding than they have ever been before. Man is incurably religious, and the nations of the world cannot escape the challenge of Christianity, for it is Christianity which is challenging rather than being challenged. Having tried force, wealth, comfort, scientific achievements, and been overtaken with bankruptcy, Christianity now challenges the world to test its teaching and practice its precepts. There never has been but one Saviour of the world, and against the blackness of the darkness to-day he stands, the hope and light of the world.

GOING HOME

There is no picture which touches the hearts of men more closely or tenderly than the figure of the tired man or woman going home at the end of the day. The fierce heat of the sun has passed, the intense high light of midday has softened into a restful glow, the strain of effort is over, and the passion of work has given place to the peace of deserted fields and streets. It was a normal instinct which sent the worker forth, eager and alert, in the morning; it is the response to a deep craving which sends him home at nightfall. The reward of labor is the rest which it achieves, and the joy of rest is the sense that it has been earned.

The alternation of day and night is a symbol of the order of life in which work and rest succeed one another in a beautiful and health-giving rhythm. The worker goes out of himself when he takes up his tools; he returns to himself when he lays them down at the end of the day. He pours out his vitality as the water pours out of a hidden spring; if he is a real worker and not a mere drudge, he gives himself in the toil of his hand and his brain, and when night falls his weariness is not mere fatigue of body, it is depletion of vitality. Before he can give himself again he must find himself; and when one goes home he finds himself.

To a vast multitude of men the thought of going home makes the heaviest burdens bearable, the most crushing responsibilities a spur to effort, the most complete surrender of ease and pleasure, not a sacrifice, but a price gladly paid for a happiness which is beyond price. The strain of the day is forgotten at the door which opens into the peace of perfect understanding, the pressure of hours and tasks is relaxed by the sound of a voice which is musical with love and faith and peace. In such a homecoming there is not only the supreme reward for the work of the day that is ended; there is also the renewal of strength and courage for the day that is to bring new strife and toil.

The joy of going home is not in the ease and comfort that are waiting there; it is in the peace that flows from love, the stillness that follows the tumult of storm, the clear atmosphere in which the dust of the highway is laid and the worker sees again the ends for which he is striving; in the quietness of such a home the toil of life is not only sweetened but its spiritual meaning shines clear again after the confusion of details has vanished. Under the heat and burden of the day the strongest man sometimes wonders if life means anything but prolonged strain of muscle and brain; in the stillness of home its blurred ends, its ultimate achievements, shine like the stars above the highway when the dust has been laid.

The home is not primarily a place for work but for life; work lies below and beyond it, but the companionship which transforms a house into a home is a sharing of the rewards of work: freedom, repose, refreshment, vision. There are houses full of conveniences and luxuries in which no one is at home; the men and women who live in them are homeless. To such men and women, as to the men and women to whom marriage is a mere social contract and the family a mere social arrangement, there is no going home, no refuge for the spirit, no place of understanding and vision. There are no more pathetic figures in the world of to-day than these homeless men and women; restless, discontented, and unhappy, and utterly blind to the tragedy of a life in which there is no going home.

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THE GERMAN REPLY TO THE SECOND AMERICAN NOTE

WITH the exception of the usual formal paragraphs used in the transmission of diplomatic communications the following is the complete text of the note signed by Herr von Jagow, German Foreign Minister, and transmitted to our Government on July 9, as given to the press. It will be noted that the translation is in some phrases clumsy and inelegant, but there seems to be no question as to its general accuracy, although one or two minor points have been raised as regards certain expressions. The Outlook's editorial comment on the note will be found on another page.

GERMANY'S APPROVAL OF PRINCIPLES OF HUMANITY

The Imperial Government learned with satisfaction from the note how earnestly the Government of the United States is concerned in seeing the principles of humanity realized in the present war. Also this appeal finds ready echo in Germany, and the Imperial Government is quite willing to permit its statements and decisions in the present case to be governed by the principles of humanity just as it has done always.

The Imperial Government welcomed with gratitude when the American Government, in the note of [that is to say, received] May 15, itself recalled that Germany had always permitted itself to be governed by the principles of progress and humanity in dealing with the law of maritime war.

Since the time when Frederick the Great negotiated with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce of September 9, 1785, between Prussia and the Republic of the West, German and American statesmen have, in fact, always stood together in the struggle for the freedom of the seas and for the protection of peaceable trade.

GERMANY'S FORMER ADHERENCE TO THE LAWS OF MARITIME WARFARE

In the international proceedings which since have been conducted for the regulation of the laws of maritime war, Germany and America have jointly advocated progressive principles, especially the abolishment of the right of capture at sea and the protection of the interests of neutrals.

Even at the beginning of the present war the German Government immediately declared its willingness, in response to proposals of the American Government, to ratify the Declaration of London and thereby subject itself in the use of its naval forces to all the restrictions provided therein in favor of neutrals.

Germany likewise has been always tenacious of the principle that war should be conducted against the armed and organized forces of an enemy country, but that the enemy civilian population must be spared as far as possible from the measures of war. The Imperial Government cherishes the definite hope that some way will be found, when peace is concluded, or perhaps earlier, to regulate the law of maritime war in a manner guaranteeing the freedom of the seas, and will welcome it with gratitude and satisfaction if it can work hand in hand with the American Government on that occasion [" to that end " is probably the true meaning].

IS GERMANY'S DEPARTURE FROM THOSE PRINCIPLES ENGLAND'S FAULT?

If in the present war the principles which should be the ideal of the future have been traversed more and more, the longer its duration, the German Government has no guilt therein. It is known to the American Government how Germany's adversaries, by completely paralyzing peaceable traffic between Germany and neutral countries, have aimed from the very beginning and with increasing lack of consideration at the destruction not so much of the armed forces as the life of the German nation, repudiating in doing so all the rules of international law and disregarding all rights of neutrals.

On November 3, 1914, England declared the North Sea a war area, and by planting poorly anchored mines and by the stoppage and capture of vessels made passage extremely dangerous and difficult for neutral shipping, and by actually blockading neutral coasts and ports, contrary to all international law. Long before the beginning of submarine war England practically completely intercepted legitimate neutral navigation to Germany also. Thus Germany was driven to a submarine war on trade.

On November 14, 1914, the English Premier declared in the House of Commons that it was one of England's principal tasks to

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prevent food for the German population from reaching Germany via neutral ports. Since March 1 England has been taking from neutral ships without further formality all merchandise proceeding to Germany as well as all merchandise coming from Germany, even when neutral property. Just as it was also with the Boers, the German people is now to be given the choice of perishing from starvation, with its women and children, or of relinquishing its independence.

IS THE NEW SUBMARINE WARFARE NECESSARY?

While our enemies thus loudly and openly proclaimed war without mercy until our utter destruction we were conducting a war in self-defense for our national existence and for the sake of peace of an assured permanency. We have been obliged to adopt a submarine warfare to meet the declared intentions of our enemies, and the method of warfare adopted by them in contravention of international law.

With all its efforts in principle to protect neutral life and property from damage as much as possible, the German Government recognized unreservedly in its memorandum of February 4 that the interests of neutrals might suffer from the submarine warfare. However, the American Government will also understand and appreciate that in the fight for existence, which has been forced upon Germany by its adversaries and announced by them, it is the sacred duty of the Imperial Government to do all within its power to protect and save the lives of German subjects. If the Imperial Government were derelict in these duties, it would be guilty before God and history of the violation of those principles of highest humanity which are the foundation of every national existence.

THE LUSITANIA'S DESTRUCTION DEFENDED

The case of the Lusitania shows with horrible clearness to what jeopardizing of human lives the manner of conducting war employed by our adversaries leads. In the most direct contradiction of international law all distinctions between merchantmen and war-vessels have been obliterated by the order to British merchantmen to arm themselves and to ram submarines and the promise of rewards therefor, and neutrals who use merchantmen as travelers thereby have been exposed in an increasing degree to all the dangers of war.

If the commander of the German submarine which destroyed the Lusitania had caused the crew and passengers to take to the boats before firing a torpedo, this would have meant the sure destruction of his own vessel. After the experiences in sinking much smaller and less seaworthy vessels it was to be expected that a mighty ship like the Lusitania would remain above water long enough, even after the torpedoing, to permit passengers to enter the ship's boats. Circumstances of a very peculiar kind, especially the presence on board of large quantities of highly explosive materials [word omitted, possibly " dissipated "] this expectation.

In addition, it may be pointed out that if the Lusitania had been spared thousands of cases of munitions would have been sent to Germany's enemies, and thereby thousands of German mothers and children robbed of breadwinners.

A PROPOSAL TO SAFEGUARD AMERICAN PASSENGER SHIPS ON IMPOSSIBLE CONDITIONS

In the spirit of friendship wherewith the German nation has been imbued toward the Union and its inhabitants since the earliest days of its existence, the Imperial Government will always be ready to do all it can during the present war also to prevent the jeopardizing of lives of American citizens.

The Imperial Government, therefore, repeats the assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping and the lives of American citizens in neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy.

In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamships, made possible in view of the conduct of maritime war by Germany's adversaries, German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notification is given a reasonable time in advance.

The Imperial Government, however, confidently hopes the American Government will assume to guarantee that these vessels have no contraband on board, details of arrangements for the unhampered passage of these vessels to be agreed upon by the naval authorities of both sides.

SIMILAR PROPOSALS AS TO NEUTRAL AND EVEN HOSTILE SHIPS

In order to furnish adequate facilities for travel across the Atlantic for American citi-

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zens, the German Government submits for consideration a proposal to increase the number of available steamers by installing in passenger service a reasonable number of neutral steamships under the American flag, the exact number to be agreed upon under the same conditions as the above-mentioned American steamships.

The Imperial Government believes it can assume that in this manner adequate facilities for travel across the Atlantic Ocean can be afforded American citizens.

There would, therefore, appear to be no compelling necessity for American citizens to travel to Europe in time of war on ships carrying an enemy flag. In particular the Imperial Government is unable to admit that American citizens can protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board.

Germany merely followed England's example when she declared part of the high seas an area of war. Consequently, accidents suffered by neutrals on enemy ships in this area of war cannot well be judged differently from accidents to which neutrals are at all times exposed at the seat of war on land when they betake themselves into dangerous localities in spite of previous warnings.

If, however, it should not be possible for the American Government to acquire an adequate number of neutral passenger steamships, the Imperial Government is prepared to interpose no objections to the placing under the American flag by the American Government of four enemy passenger steamships for passenger traffic between North America and England.

Assurances of "free and safe" passage for American passenger steamers would then extend to apply under the identical pro-conditions to these formerly hostile passenger steamships.

GERMANY WILL CONSIDER OTHER SUGGESTIONS

The President of the United States has declared his readiness, in a way deserving of thanks, to communicate and suggest proposals to the Government of Great Britain with particular reference to the alteration of maritime war.

The Imperial Government will always be glad to make use of the good offices of the President, and hopes that his efforts in the present case, as well as in the direction of the lofty ideal of the freedom of the seas, will lead to an understanding.

AMERICAN OPINION ON THE GERMAN NOTE

THE LUSITANIA

THE note comprises two striking features: one negative, one positive. The negative feature is the lack of apology for the loss of American lives on the Lusitania, as well as the lack of any promise of reparation. As the Wilmington, Delaware, "News" says, "Germany has apparently brushed aside the point made by the United States that the Lusitania had violated neither the laws of the United States nor international law." The Boston "Transcript" adds:

Without equivocation and with a politeness offensively insinuating, Germany rejects each and all of our demands and attempts to bargain with respect to the future. Our demand for disavowal of responsibility for the sinking of the Lusitania and the resultant slaughter of our citizens is answered by an indirect assumption of such responsibility. Our demand for reparation is met with an attempt to justify the crime on the ground that Germany is at war with Great Britain.

In this respect "Germany has not toed the mark," chronicles the Utica "Observer:"

She still persists that it was her right to sink without warning a merchantman bearing more than fifteen hundred non-combatants, and thus cause the death of many neutral people, both adults and children, more than one hundred of whom were American citizens.

Yet, as a matter of fact, says the Schenectady "Union-Star," "no nation would be more prompt to demand justice for an act as contrary to the laws of nations as was the sinking of the Lusitania than would Germany." The Schenectady paper continues:

There is no question of ammunition or material interest here. If we are to submit to the killing of American citizens without redress, then we are back in the dark ages. We will insist that Germany meet the issue of submarine warfare in the spirit of frankness that has characterized our own communications to her. She has not done so in the present note.

Thus, as the Fresno, California, "Republican" asserts, "the principle of the freedom

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of the seas from the slaughter of neutrals has not only been ignored, but has been definitely defied." In other words, to follow the language of the Seattle "Post-Intelligencer," in no sense does the note "adjust or put a better phase upon the Lusitania incident." "Until the crime of murder done to American lives on board the Lusitania shall be expiated," concludes the Philadelphia "Bulletin," "there can be no satisfactory settlement between Germany and the United States, and friendly relations cannot permanently continue unless there shall be such expiation in some form." The New York "Times" reflects the opinion of practically the entire American press when it says:

There is only one issue. The United States Government contends, and has clearly and forcibly contended from the first, that while belligerent nations possess the right to seize and examine enemy ships at sea, to seize contraband, to destroy ships carrying contraband when they cannot take them to one of their own ports, they have no right to sacrifice the lives of passengers and crew. The United States Government contends that as . . . American citizens who were entirely within their rights while traveling as passengers on the Lusitania were killed in the destruction of that vessel, the German Government has incurred a grave responsibility which it must meet. Quite apart from the necessary demand for reparation, our Government contends for something "much greater than the mere rights of property or privileges of commerce," although these must be respected. It contends for the rights of humanity.

And the Providence "Journal:"

Stripped of all its verbiage and falsehoods, its crazy assumptions of virtue and humanitarianism, the German note deliberately evades the only issue put forward by President Wilson.

In answer to these broad-based declarations of President Wilson, which represent the sane view of every honest American, what is Germany's reply? An absolute evasion of the question, an insulting suggestion that we obligate ourselves to do what no self-respecting nation would dream of doing, and the parading of a white robe of chastity over the bloody stains of Belgium and the Lusitania.

PROTECTED SHIPS

The positive feature of the note, which has called forth much comment—some favorable, but by far the larger part unfavorable—is that of Germany's proposition to restrict the traffic of American vessels. As might be expected, the papers here printed in the German language are unanimous in praising this feature. The St. Paul "Volks Zeitung" declares:

The new German note is a governmental guarantee of safety to all Americans who cross the Atlantic in vessels properly flying the American flag. However, if American citizens prefer to enter the dangerous war zone in a belligerent vessel carrying a cargo of arms and ammunition to the Allies, the German Government declines to protect such foolhardiness.

In the same spirit the Cincinnati "Volks Blatt" says:

Germany offers to guarantee the lives of American passengers, and we cannot see how the President can refuse to accept the offer. His contention that Americans have a right to travel on all ships is not rejected, for Germany promises to safeguard Americans traveling on passenger ships. The only difference of opinion arises in regard to the question whether ships carrying ammunition are to be classed as war-ships or mercantile vessels. Germany holds the former view, and we think that common sense supports her standpoint.

The question is, therefore, in the Chicago "Tribune's" opinion, whether we stand ready to insist upon the full measure of our rights as a neutral, or whether we find it consistent with our honor, duty, and interests to forego a full enjoyment of these legal rights "in favor of an agreement which in fact will protect our citizens and avoid the danger or uncertainty of resort to extreme measures." The Chicago paper concludes:

The question is one which challenges both the pride and pacific intent of the American people. There is no disposition among the people generally to take up arms for the right of Americans to travel on ships conveying ammunition to belligerents if a fair alternative in fact exists.

The Bismarck, North Dakota, "Tribune" declares that "the note proposes a sane solution of the entire problem." And the Milwaukee "Free Press" says:

The German note provides the United States with an honorable . . . basis for insuring the safety of American lives and American boats in the German war zone.

And the Milwaukee "Sentinel" asserts:

Germany agrees to do all it can, consistently with the effectiveness of its retaliatory submarine campaign against enemy commerce, to safeguard American lives on the high seas.

The Providence "Tribune" feels that "the answer marks an advance, if slight, in the negotiations between the two countries:"

When President Wilson makes it plain, as it is believed that he will, that he means what he

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says and that the Nation gives him full support, Germany will again moderate her demands, and thus gradually an agreement will be reached on all the important points involved.

The Columbus "Despatch" thus sums up the situation:

To the American appeal in the interest of a wide humanity the note offers some concessions that impute to us mere selfishness. Ways are offered by adopting which Americans can be safe at sea, while the slaughter of other non-combatants goes on. . . . Germany tells the United States how it can escape. But it is sometimes worse to escape than to suffer.

The Berlin Foreign Office knows just as well as we know, asserts the New York "Press," "that we could not make and enforce such stipulations without surrendering fundamental American rights both conferred by international law and affirmed by special treaty contract with Germany herself." In the same spirit the Chicago "Herald" declares:

The American people are not asking favors or "privileges" from the German or any other Government. They are demanding respect for their rights on the seas. In that demand, as Woodrow Wilson has finely said, "America asks nothing for herself but what she has a right to ask for humanity itself."

The St. Louis "Post-Dispatch" says: "Germany assumes dictatorship over neutral traffic and tells the United States Government where it gets on and where it gets off."

The suggestion of neutralized ships, according to the Hartford "Times," is not only in the nature of condescension, but also in that of a bribe. Another New England paper, the Worcester "Gazette," remarks on this point:

Americans are to be allowed to travel under conditions and restraints imposed by Germany. If agreed to, they would amount to the United States aiding and abetting Germany in the prosecution of its submarine warfare upon the Allies.

The Dallas "News" asks:

Can a nation which is insisting on nothing more than a strict fulfillment of the law waive any right, however small, without putting every right it enjoys in jeopardy? One might indeed suspect that Germany had fashioned its answer for the purpose of betraying us into controversies with its enemies.

The Cleveland "News" answers:

A nation that has "very earnestly and very solemnly" asserted its concern for the lawful, just, and unabbreviated rights "either of American shipmasters or of American citizens" cannot and will not consider any suggestion that American rights on the high seas be held subject to German sufferance. In fine, the German communication defies President Wilson to enforce "a strict accountability."

ENGLAND

The South, smarting under the English orders in Council, expresses itself in various papers; for instance, in the Atlanta "Constitution:"

While the German problem is reaching a stage wherein it now seems its solution will readily be found, a far more serious situation confronts us in the attitude of England toward neutral commerce.

And in the Memphis "News-Scimitar:"

We may not relish the idea of dickering with Germany as to how our citizens shall travel the seas, but certainly . . . we have no just complaint against reaching a fair understanding with Germany on this point, so long as we submit to dictation of Great Britain regarding commerce with neutrals.

And in the Louisville "Courier-Journal:"

That the English orders in Council were violations of neutral rights under international law and usage was made manifest by the protest of our Government, which promptly followed them. Unfortunately, the course pursued by Germany made it needful before proceeding with that protest to meet a more immediate and dangerous assault.

The New York "Globe" rejoins:

In the present note Germany does not deny the charge that she is violating international law. . . . There is further admission in the argument offered in justification. This argument is that Great Britain has not respected international law in her conflict with Germany, and in reprisal Germany is warranted in departing from international law. The argument, so far as the relations of Germany and this country are concerned, is palpably invalid. That Great Britain has violated international law against Germany is no reason why Germany should violate international law against us. It is an unheard of doctrine to say that a belligerent desirous of retaliating on her enemy can attack neutrals. It is as if (to take an extreme case for purposes of illustration) the German Government, not liking the way the French treated German prisoners in their hands, should proceed to hang American citizens happening to be within its power.

UNPREPAREDNESS

The American press finds two special reasons on this side of the Atlantic for the

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German note. The first is our military and naval unpreparedness. This granted, the note is such as might have been written "to China or any other big unprepared country," asserts the Memphis "Commercial-Appeal," and continues:

That we are in a position that a foreign country may write to us as to China is our own fault. If some say that Germany is insolent, it is because we were not in a position, by being strong on land and sea, where the Chancellor would weigh more carefully every word.

Turning from the South to the North and from the East to the West, we find much the same opinion expressed by the Boisé, Idaho, "Statesman-Republican:" "An answer of that nature, under all the circumstances, might be expected to be made by Japan to China."

MR. BRYAN

A second reason for this particular note is found in the attitude and propaganda of Mr. Bryan. The Kaiser knew that Mr. Bryan had a large following, chronicles the Newport News "Press," and adds:

It was a fair inference that the retiring Secretary represented a large chunk of timidity throughout the length and breadth of the land, also fair inference, in the Kaiser's mind, that the President lost part of his own nerve, after Bryan retreated, and toned down his note accordingly. . . . It is up to the President to correct that impression. Rights of American citizens and American commerce must be protected at whatever cost, whether the trespasser be Germany, or England, or any other nation.

Still more caustic is the New York "Sun's" criticism:

Just how much we are indebted to the . . . meddling of Mr. Bryan for Germany's rather too light refusal to accept at face value the courteous but grave and earnest words of President Wilson's notes we shall perhaps never know. The new proposals set forth in the disappointing diplomatic document now under consideration by our Government are strongly suggestive of "views" which Mr. Bryan has recently taken considerable pains to spread before the country as his own. Their intrinsic impossibility and absurdity are presumptive evidence of his paternity.

The full story of this now roving political adventurer's back-stairs conferences with foreign embassies while the Administration which trusted to his good faith and discretion was in critical conference with countries which those embassies represented has never been satisfactorily told. . . . If the new tension of our relations with Germany proves to be a sequel to his clandestine interviews, nobody will be particularly surprised, unless perhaps it be the Germans themselves, when they discover how far they have been led astray.

THE MANNER OF THE NOTE

The point of importance in connection with the latest German note, affirms the Des Moines "Capital," is that it does not represent "a chip-on-the-shoulder attitude." Indeed, "the most striking characteristic" of the German reply, asserts the New London "Day," is "its evident sincerity." The Cleveland "Plain Dealer" declares that the note's "most pleasing feature . . . is the apparently sincere expression of friendship for the United States. The note is, at the worst, an improvement over those which have preceded it from the German Foreign Office." Another Ohio paper, the Toledo "Times," concludes that "there is nothing in the note that can be construed as domineering in tone." But, looking beneath the surface, many papers agree with the Bangor "News:"

Unless German diplomacy is completely blinded by conceit, or entirely unable to comprehend the seriousness and correctness of the American contention for law and order on the high seas, then it must be concluded that the note is inspired by an antagonistic and insolent spirit.

CONCLUSIONS

While the manner of the German note has received, in general, favorable consideration at the hands of American critics, its matter has, for the most part, received very adverse criticism. The Tampa "Times," for instance, declares that "Germany has abated not a jot her stiff-necked attitude; rather, she has gone further toward a severance of the relations with the United States by her covert threat of attack upon any American passenger ship which also carried munitions of war."

Again, there is considerable of what the New York "Telegram" calls "flub-dub" in the note—about "Frederick the Great, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and German and American statesmen standing together in the struggle for the freedom of the seas." The "Telegram's" rejoinder is as follows:

It may be remarked that Frederick the Great and John Adams are not settling this controversy.

Germany's reply to the United States is in substance as high-handed as the invasion of Belgium.

The Kaiser not only wants a way to the sea,

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but the sea itself; not only desires a place in the sun, but to possess the heavenly body and peddle out its rays to the rest of humanity.

According to the Montgomery, Alabama, "Journal," the note is intended to confuse and confound; but, in any case, the German attitude, according to the Buffalo "Commercial," "is that of a pirate who states the conditions under which he will permit us to live on the high seas."

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE CONVENTION

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM ATLANTIC CITY

THE sixteenth National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America was in reality neither a political gathering nor a religious revival, yet it had much of both of these in its make-up. The great majority of the ten thousand men and women who assembled at Atlantic City in the week beginning July 4 were members of Protestant denominations, and the Convention was to them a very clear expression of the Church militant. The same fighting hymns of Christianity that moved so many thousands in the Progressive campaign of 1912, the same self-evident spirit of social service which won for the great Chicago Convention the tribute of even the bitter adversaries of the Progressive party, made the gathering at Atlantic City a noteworthy experience for the observer as well as a portent of a far-reaching political movement, the final results of which it is still impossible to measure.

The Anti-Saloon League of America is the most effective organization of the temperance forces of the United States which has yet been created. This is not the testimony of its friends, but of its enemies. It is the often repeated confession of the most widely read journals devoted to the liquor trade. Its accomplishments have not been dismissed with indifference by its foes, nor can they be so dismissed by any student of our current political history, no matter whether he be inclined to believe or disbelieve in the effectiveness of legal prohibition.

This is the purpose of the League as stated in its constitution:

> The object of this League is the extermination of the beverage liquor traffic, for the accomplishing of which the alliance of all who are in harmony with this object is invited. The League pledges itself to avoid affiliation with any political party as such and to maintain an attitude of strict neutrality on all questions of public policy not directly and immediately concerned with the traffic in strong drink.

How far the League has gone in the realization of its ambitions will be seen when it is stated that by January, 1916, half the population and seventy-one per cent of the area of the United States will be legally dry. That the Anti-Saloon League cherishes no delusions as to the gulf that sometimes exists between law and fact is shown by the slogan repeated on many of the pages of the programme of the Convention:

> The Anti-Saloon League forces are working, not merely for a law to create a condition, but rather for a condition which will support a law.

The leaders of the Anti-Saloon League are practical men, and they have won their greatest victories because they have understood practical politics. In States such as New York and Illinois they have fought for the best local option law which they could secure. In States where public sentiment and social conditions warranted a prospect for immediate success they have fought for State-wide prohibition. Finally, in States which have accepted such abolition of the liquor traffic in principle they have continued their fight for the enforcement of the prohibitory law. From the attitude of the leaders and the rank and file at the Atlantic City Convention, it could be seen that the men behind the anti-saloon movement felt the greatest confidence in the success of their cause. They showed in every action a positive belief that their movement had no need to link itself with the personal fortunes of any one political party or any one political leader. Once, when Mr. Bryan's name had been loudly cheered, a query addressed to a Texan delegate as to the political significance of this enthusiasm evoked this response: "That cheer was only in recognition of Mr. Bryan's sympathy with our cause. We anti-saloon people disagree on every topic under the sun except the abolition of the liquor traffic. For myself, I have voted for Bryan for President three times,

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and thanked God each time that he was not elected."

Together with this evident intention not to play second fiddle in any political orchestra there was manifested also an absolute refusal to recognize any right on the part of the liquor traffic for compensation in the face of widespreading prohibition. Ex-Congressman Hobson, who introduced the Constitutional amendment in the last Congress calling for the abolition of the liquor traffic, was one of the most enthusiastically received speakers at the Convention. Nevertheless, his suggestion that the immediate surrender of the liquor traffic to the prohibition forces might entitle them to some compensation because by so doing they would relieve the anti-saloon forces from carrying on the fight to the finish was laughed gently out of court. More acceptable to the spirit of the Convention was the statement made by the National Superintendent of the League, Dr. P. A. Baker, in his opening report:

> The traffic is inherently criminal, and every man engaged in it has done so with the knowledge that the State has reserved the right to abolish it whenever it chooses. Nor is compensation to be thought of as a method of getting rid of the traffic. Lesser evils than the drink traffic have been abolished without compensation, and this one will be. The people of this country have millions for war against drink, but not one penny for compensation or compromise.

ALLIES OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE

In the long fight against the liquor traffic, typified by these energetic words of the National Superintendent of the League, new allies are making their appearance on every hand. The business man convinced of the economic evil that comes from drink, the laboring man satisfied as to the industrial handicap of the saloon, the Government official recognizing liquor as the cause of social unrest, the priest seeing clearly in alcohol the source of moral delinquency—all these gave their testimony to the delegates assembled at Atlantic City. Most significant of the changing attitude towards the liquor question were the words of Father Curran, of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, who presided over one session of the Convention. The authorities of the Catholic Church have in the past held that the solution of the liquor question was to be found in individual abstinence rather than in legal prohibition. Father Curran's address foreshadows a change in this attitude. To the objection which has been raised to the participation of Catholics in the Anti-Saloon League because it is a Protestant organization Father Curran replied, "The Anti-Saloon League is neither Protestant nor Catholic, but Christian. . . . If the Protestants do compose a great majority of the membership of the Anti-Saloon League, it is to their credit, if not to the discredit of Catholics who refuse to identify themselves in it." Father Curran testified to the change in the traditional attitude of the Catholic clergy towards the liquor question in the following emphatic language: "Already," he said, ". . . tens of thousands of the laity with expectant breath are now on the very line waiting for a little encouragement from those higher up in the various grades of the clerical hierarchy. . . . From all reports, they will not have to wait very long, as news from all over the country brings the cheerful word that hundreds of priests are in silent sympathy with the movement, and will soon be on the active firing line with the most aggressive among us. . . . Only two years ago Cardinal Gibbons lent the weight of his mighty pen to the local option campaign in Charles County, Maryland, and Charles County subsequently went dry. . . . And still another Prince of the Church, the now famous Cardinal Mercier, of prostrate Belgium, has written strongly in favor of temperance along the lines of our movement here. In a letter to the Catholic delegates at the anti-alcoholic congress in Milan two years ago he exhorted them to work shoulder to shoulder with men of different philosophic and religious persuasions with the single view of crushing out forever from the nations of Europe the withering blight of alcoholism. . . . Let it not be said by any observing and fair-minded man that there is another means left to stem the tide of intemperance in America than that which the Anti-Saloon League has adopted, viz., the total and irrevocable abolition of the saloon business from the soil of our otherwise blessed country."

The public men who have accepted the principle of the Anti-Saloon League and who are enthusiastic believers in both the desirability and feasibility of National prohibition—the ultimate goal of the Anti-Saloon League—were represented at the Atlantic City Convention, among others, by ex-Governor Foss of Massachusetts, Gifford Pinchot, General Nelson A. Miles, ex-Governor Hodges of Kansas, and Governor Carlson of Colorado. It was Governor Carlson who

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laid the blame for the violence and disorder of the mining strike at the threshold of the liquor traffic. Here is his description of how that experience helped in the passage of State-wide prohibition in Colorado:

Taken as a class, there is no finer citizen than the man who goes into the mine and daily jeopardizes his life to bring forth the earth's treasure; but a certain element of the minority of these miners spent their days toiling down in the earth, hidden from God's sunshine of pure and ennobling thought. The saloon-keeper got their margin of profit. He got more—he got the money that should have clothed and fed their families. Dissatisfaction increased, and no wonder. It is an unfortunate trait of human nature that we do not blame ourselves for our own faults. . . . Then came the strike. Employer and workingman flew at each other's throats with all the savagery of wild animals. A private dispute had grown into a public disturbance. The State's troops were called into action. They were fired upon, and at that moment the necessity of preserving peace between the strikers and employers became merged into the graver necessity of preserving government itself. At that critical time the first safety measure taken was to close the saloons in the troubled districts. Why? The stimulus that made men do violence did not come from the Church, the school, the home; it came from the back rooms and basements of grogshops. Colorado found that the preservation of government and the open saloon are utterly incompatible. The deadlock was broken. Colorado had learned her lesson. It was written in letters of blood. . . . In the territory made dry by military proclamation it was soon noticed that more coal was produced by the same number of men during the period when saloons were closed than during a corresponding period while they were open; that the efficiency of the miners increased and each man earned more money; that living conditions of the men became better and there seemed to be more happiness in their families. Accidents decreased, and for the first time it was brought home that the man with a clear eye and rested brain is the best safety device that can be put into a mine. . . . When a State is confronted with a great crisis and the people have accumulated all of their experience and have become aroused, their judgment seems like the power of Heaven in definite operation. The dry forces of the State entered into the campaign last fall with renewed vigor and confidence. Billy Sunday in Denver, Scovill in Pueblo, Bulgin in Boulder, converged all of the forces of their intense natures upon this issue. . . . Business men, doctors, judges, leaders in every walk of life, took the stump and told of the waste of the saloon coming under their observation. On election day a wet majority of 40,000 two years before was changed to a dry majority of 12,000. This was Colorado's conclusion.

Ex-Governor Foss blamed licensed liquor traffic for the decline in the skilled industries of New England; Governor Hodges, on the other hand, credited prohibition in Kansas with having created a state of dryness and prosperity which more than answered the old question of "What is the matter with Kansas?"

The bonded indebtedness of this woebegone State is only $159,000, less than ten cents each for every person in Kansas, and over half of this amount is already collected and in the State Treasury waiting the maturity of the bond. The people are groaning under our terrific State tax, which in 1912 (the statistics of which I have in hand) amounted to less than .036 an acre on an average, not including improvements. . . . Kansas has only 2 per cent of illiteracy. She has a death rate of only 10 to 1,000, a prison population of only 740, of whom 40 per cent were nonresidents of the State. Our bank deposits have increased in the last ten years from $100,000,000 to $230,000,000.

Twenty-eight counties did not have a jail prisoner during all of 1914.

Forty-eight counties did not send a person to the penitentiary that year.

Seventy-eight counties did not have an insane patient last year.

Twelve counties have not called a jury to try a criminal case in years.

Twenty counties do not have a prisoner in the penitentiary.

Eighteen counties have no poor farms.

Thirty-five counties have no use for poor farms because they did not have a single indigent in their counties last year.

We had but fourteen children paupers cared for by the State in 1914.

Still another ally which received the due recognition of many of the speakers at this Anti-Saloon League Convention was the movement for the enfranchisement of women. Allusions to woman suffrage—and there were many—always brought forward continued applause. Both the leaders and the rank and file of the temperance movement assembled at Atlantic City were evidently firm in the belief that woman suffrage was a potent help in the passage of prohibition laws. Some of the temperance workers confessed in private conversation that women's votes were not always secured for the cause of prohibition without an educational effort, but they expressed an unwavering belief that the cause of temperance was vitally connected with the cause of woman suffrage.

This is a record of the thought and purpose

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of the Convention rather than an interpretation and comment on what the Anti-Saloon League has accomplished. It will be fitting, therefore, in conclusion, to report the plan of operation which the League has laid out for the next two years. In the resolutions adopted at the Convention recognition was given to the need of reaching the great foreign-born population within the United States, to the need of educating our seven million industrial workers in the social worthlessness of the alcohol industry, and to the constructive need of providing a substitute for the saloon. In these resolutions the Anti-Saloon League reaffirmed its belief in the value of non-partisan activity in the warfare against the liquor traffic and protested against every effort to use the rapidly growing temperance sentiment of the Nation for the furtherance of personal ends. The Convention called upon Congress to bar all intoxicating beverages from inter-State commerce and to prohibit the use of the United States mails, not only in transporting intoxicating liquors, but also in carrying liquor advertisements and periodicals containing such advertisements into probibition territory in violation of State laws. The Convention declared for the passage of a law to require all applicants for Federal liquor tax receipts to state in their application that it is not unlawful to sell intoxicating liquors as a beverage at the place named in their application. The Convention appealed to Congress to make the District of Columbia and the Territories of Hawaii, Alaska, and Porto Rico dry by legislative enactment. Most important of all, in the view of the Convention, an appeal was made to Congress to bring the question of National prohibition directly before the people of the Nation by adopting a joint resolution submitting a prohibitory Constitutional amendment to the legislatures of the several States.

HAROLD T. PULSIFER.

THE FOURTH OF JULY AT SING SING

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OUTLOOK

WHEN convict John Doe[1] awoke in his cell at Sing Sing on the morning of the recent Fourth of July holiday, he shuddered at the thought of the day that was before him. On the last holiday, Decoration Day, he had been a free man. To-day the yellowish-brown walls of his cell, glistening with dampness and stifling him with their narrowness, seemed unendurable. Tantalizing memories of the beach at Coney Island and of the lucrative board walk at Atlantic City swept over him. He cursed his luck.

But convict Richard Roe, who had spent twenty-three Fourth of Julys in Sing Sing, had far different waking thoughts. He welcomed the day. Gratitude and hope filled his heart. He realized that this would be the most wonderful Independence Day he had ever seen since the heavy iron door of the prison clanged shut upon him. Heretofore the coming of a holiday on Monday had meant that the inmates were locked in their cells at five o'clock on Saturday afternoon and kept there until six o'clock Tuesday morning. Two days and three nights, fifty-nine hours, of rigidly enforced silence in a cell hardly more than a stone box—a cell only three feet four inches wide and only seven feet long, where water dripped from the walls and where the air was indescribably foul! Is it any wonder that Sundays and holidays have always bred hatred and rebellion in the hearts of Sing Sing prisoners?

On my arrival at Sing Sing that morning, I asked Warden Osborne what the events of the day were to be. "That matter is in the hands of the officers of the League," he replied; "the Mutual Welfare League," he added. "They have the plans in charge. Of course they consulted me, but they've looked after the details. I know there's to be a holiday dinner, for I've attended to that, and there's to be a baseball game, if the weather clears, and a motion-picture show. But I don't think," he concluded, smiling, "that there's to be anything of special interest here to-day."

The morning had dawned dark and showery. But the leaden clouds and the rain sweeping in gusts across the yard and filling the baseball diamond with puddles seemed to have no depressing effect on the spirits of

[1] Under the present system the men are known by their names. The old custom by which a man became merely a number when the State took possession of his person has been abolished.

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the inmates. As I stepped into the cell block, under the courteous guidance of Mr. Timothy O'Connor, of the Warden's staff, the sound of hundreds of voices, talking and laughing, filled this disgraceful old structure, robbing it for an instant of some of its horror. On each of the six long galleries groups of men were gathered together, chatting. They did not look like criminals, but like ordinary men of the outside world. In honor of the day they were allowed to wear white or colored negligee shirts, collars, and ties instead of the gray prison shirts. The barbers had evidently been busy early, for most of the men were clean shaven. It was easy to discern the feeling of self-respect which was fostered by this change of attire.

Suddenly from one of the upper galleries the sound of music floated down. A Negro quartette of banjos and guitars was playing. Several voices joined softly in the music. There was no shouting, no disorder; these men were enjoying themselves in a simple, rational way.

The special holiday dinner was the next event of the day. Under the old system the men were made to march in utter silence to the mess-hall—except on holidays, when their meals were thrust through the barred gate of their cells—and when in the mess-hall they were not allowed to speak, nor even to turn their heads to the right or left. Guards watched them constantly; and if one of these "screws" caught a man breaking these rules he sent him to the dark cell. On this Fourth of July the spectacle of hundreds of men marching to the mess-hall unguarded and accompanied only by their chosen delegates was inspiring. They walked along with heads up, shoulders squared, talking to one another, and filed into their places at the long, narrow tables in a most orderly manner. While they ate they laughed and talked, and no "screw" spied upon them. One needed only to invoke the vision of that great room under the law of compulsory silence in order to realize what a marvelous change for the better has been wrought.

While the various companies were taking their places at the tables the brass band of thirty-five pieces—the pride of Sing Sing—crashed into the stirring strains of "The Army and Navy Forever!" Instantly hundreds of voices joined in, and at the close of the selection the applause was tumultuous. All during the dinner hour the band played popular airs and patriotic music. Every selection was enthusiastically applauded. This holiday dinner, which had been so eagerly looked forward to, consisted of soup, which was served in tin basins, somewhat rusty, and boiled chicken, accompanied with mashed potatoes, bread and butter, pie, and cheese.

At the close of the dinner Warden Osborne made a speech which contained the surprises of the day. The applause when he stepped upon the platform left no doubt as to the regard which the inmates have for him. It was a full minute before he could get a chance to speak.

He began by telling them that in celebration of the day he would announce two new privileges which would be granted to them. "The first one," he said, "is that you may have an extra hour of recreation during the summer months—that is, you may have two hours in all, from four o'clock until six in the afternoon." With a roar of sound like that of Niagara the mess-hall broke into applause. When Mr. Osborne could finally get silence, he explained to them that in return for this coveted privilege every man must must work faithfully at his shop job until four o'clock.

"You know best, each of you," he said, "whether you are playing fair now. I can't keep a watch on every one of you, but *you* know how it is with yourself. From now on make it your business to work right up till four o'clock. That is the price you must pay for the new privilege of an extra hour in the yard." Men glanced at each other, nodding their heads in tacit agreement. There was no doubt about the willingness to "stand by" the Warden.

"The other announcement," Mr. Osborne went on, "will, I think, meet with the approval of each one here. You all know how inadequate the bathing facilities here are—less than a dozen tubs for sixteen hundred men! Well, you are to have a new swimming-pool in the North Basin. A board fence—" the rest of the sentence was drowned in the thunderous acclamations of delight. They clapped their hands, they stamped their feet, they shouted. The Warden waited patiently until this first burst of enthusiasm had spent itself. Then he held up his hand for silence. A sibilant "sh-sh-sh" ran through the crowd.

"I've often told you," he began, "that the price of privilege is responsibility. You can have only what you earn. You must pay

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in one way or another for what you get. In return for this swimming-pool I shall expect you to keep the following new rules. They are just, they are necessary, and they must be kept." He then read several rules enforcing greater strictness in the use of passes and pass-books in going from one part of the prison to another, and forbidding the loitering of inmates around the entrances to the various buildings. "These are your rules," said the Warden, in closing, "proposed by your judiciary, and approved by your delegates, and you must obey them." The hearty approbation which was given to his speech showed how strong the feeling of loyalty and responsibility has become.

In the afternoon the rain stopped, the sun came out, drying off the baseball field, and the game with the visiting team from New York City was played to crowded bleachers. It was a fine-looking team that battled for the honor of Sing Sing, and won. There was no trace of prison pallor in their sunburned faces, no hint of prison confinement in their athletic bodies, so well set off by the attractive uniform of white trimmed with green. These are the colors of the Mutual Welfare League, and they mean truth and hope. The spirit of fair play was manifested throughout the game. Good plays of the opposing team were greeted with shouts of approval. The enthusiasm of the crowd, the gratuitous advice from the side-lines, the catcalls, hootings, and yells of encouragement showed that a "fan" is always a fan even though high stone walls and sentries in watch-towers are between him and the outside world. Beyond the bleachers the Hudson River sparkled in the rain-washed sunshine, beyond the wall were family, home, and friends. But here, inside the prison yard, this little community for an hour or two forgot these far-away things in the wholesome excitement of the great American game. Are these men not being better prepared to be decent American citizens than if they had spent the afternoon locked in a stifling cell?

Another event which marked the day was the new arrangement for interviews between the inmates and their visitors. Heretofore all conversations have had to be carried on through two gratings, between which was an aisle. It was not possible, therefore, to touch even the finger-tips of the beloved one who came to visit. Warden Osborne felt that these gratings, which disfigure the sight of the face seen through them, were a handicap to the prisoner's self-respect and an unnecessary precaution for men who have proved that they can be trusted. So he arranged little compartments fenced off by gratings, and on this Fourth of July the prisoners sat down by the side of their visitors. As we passed by a father who was kissing a baby the man looked up at the Warden with tears in his eyes. "Warden," he said, "this is the first time I've ever been able to even touch my little baby. Thank you, sir, thank you!" The gratitude of both the prisoners and the visitors for this privilege of speaking face to face, instead of through a grating, darkly, was very touching.

After supper a motion-picture play, "Hearts in Exile," was given in the chapel. The men came in and took their seats in as orderly a manner as if they had been a college community assembling to hear a lecture—in fact, more so. They were not accompanied by guards. The lights went out. There was half a minute of almost utter darkness before the first picture flashed upon the screen. Yet there was not the slightest disorder. Throughout the play the men proved themselves keenly appreciative spectators. No subtle point of pathos or humor escaped them. And during the whole evening their behavior was dignified.

To any one who studies at first hand the conditions to-day at Sing Sing there can be no doubt that during the seven and a half months since Thomas Mott Osborne was appointed Warden a miracle of regeneration, of new manhood, and of loyalty has been wrought among the inmates of this prison. Society will always be his debtor for what he is doing.

BEATRICE DENISON.

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A GLANCE IN PASSING

I HAVE always been interested in whims, my own first and those of other people afterwards, in a very serious sense. For if a thing is genuinely important to the human race—if it is really human—it is certain to have its humors. If a system of philosophy has not its humors, can it ever be anything more than an abstraction? If it is not slightly fantastic, is it susceptible of ever being adapted and applied, and really *lived*, by that whimsical creature and inchoate poet, man?

Suppose mankind were to be given a system, regular, sane, ordered, beautifully logical, mathematically perfect; the genius of the species would straightway twist that system into something more interesting, more livable, more wonderful, more human, more efflorescently irregular. When man has succeeded in making something logical over into something whimsical and fantastic, like himself, he looks at the achievement with a sigh of content and murmurs: "Well, thank goodness, I've got some plain, practical, straightforward common sense into *that* at last!"

I flatter myself that I can see very plainly the line of demarcation between the valuable and the ludicrous in the whims of other people; but with my own whims I can never be so sure of the exact point where sense becomes nonsense. But perhaps other people will be able to see that for me. I fear they will; so, in purposing to take a passing glance at things which are, from the meridian of Greenwich west to Hesperus, and from the Battery north to the Polar Star, I do not intend to take even my own whims too seriously.

***

An Englishman wrote in the New York "Times" the other day that American women so completely dominated American men that (briefly) this country was becoming weak, feeble, and womanish. The next day there were seven letters in the "Times" indignantly denying this; the sense of them all was that American women are *not* disproportionately active and articulate.

Each of the seven letters was by an American woman.

***

The Éden Musée is to go. No wax Chamber of Horrors could hope to compete with Europe.

George Sylvester Viereck, the young erotic poet who has lately been editing the "Fatherland" and otherwise taking a leading part in the pro-German propaganda in America, and Alfred Noyes, the British bard who is at present lecturing at Princeton, have been indulging in that particularly entertaining form of quarrel each party to which denies that the other is worth quarreling with.

It started because Mr. Noyes is an Englishman and Mr. Viereck is a Dernburg-American. A 42-centimeter gun, such as himself, Mr. Viereck confided winsomely to a palpitantly awaiting press, would find but little satisfaction in utterly demolishing a cricket such as Mr. Noyes. Mr. Viereck added: "Mr. Noyes naturally must be antagonistic to me. It is the antagonism of the cricket against the nightingale."

A 42-centimeter nightingale is certainly a lyric force to be reckoned with. No hungry generations will ever tread it down. Mr. Viereck inclines habitually to the quantitative and dynamic view of his own genius. In the preface to one of his books of verse he says: "If I were not Viereck, I would gladly be Edison. I sometimes suspect that I would rather have reared the Metropolitan Building than written my poem 'Queen Lilith.'"

As Mr. Viereck grows older, and sees more of the Metropolitan Building and reads his "Queen Lilith" oftener, his suspicion of their relative value may grow into a certainty. In the meantime, and before he altogether ceases to sing, this current phase of 42-centimeter nightingale through which he is passing is sufficiently unusual to set him pleasingly apart from other bards and birds. And Mr. Viereck, if we have read him correctly, does not so much care what he is so long as he is different.

***

When the interesting insect known as the "thousand-legs" staggers with the heat, do all those legs make him stagger less or stagger more?

***

I saw a little Syrian girl in a Brooklyn slum the other day who was sporting a pair of lavender-colored spats. Her stockings were somewhat out of repair; her toes were somewhat out of her shoes; the spats themselves had seen better feet; they had begun life as the spats of some one else, and

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they were too large for her. But they were spats—and she was happy.

She might have been happier if she could have danced. There was an organ-grinder on the block and other children were dancing. But when this particular little girl tried to dance the spats tripped her. So she gave it up and stood on the curbstone, spatted and superior, conscious Fashion queening it over Terpsichore. Her attitude conveyed that it was all very well for spatless children to dance in the streets, but that she had a certain position to maintain; she felt her social responsibility; if one has spats, one must live up to them. This was her outward attitude; this was the affectation forced upon her by the fact that with those particular spats she could not dance.

But all the while, deep in her ingenuous soul, there must have been stirring a conflict; she must have been debating whether she really wanted to miss the fun for the sake of the spats. In short, were spats worth while after all? Was dignity, eminence, worth the price?

Finally, nature won; affectation succumbed. She removed the spats and joined the dance. But it was too late. In a moment more the organ-grinder was gone. She resumed her spats; for a moment her face conveyed that she felt that she had lost both ways. But only for a moment. Presently the spats reasserted their sway; they communicated to their wearer a strut; she actually managed to strut standing still; to look at her now you would not have guessed that even a momentary doubt concerning spats had ever entered her mind; she became superior again.

I fancy the incident might be worked out on another plane and another scale in other streets. But what I enjoy about human beings is the fact that, no matter where one finds them, they are so human.

* * *

Expensive clothes still tempt women—few of them say, "Get thee behind me, satin!"

* * *

I once heard the late Joel Chandler Harris ask Theodore Roosevelt his opinion of William Jennings Bryan as a statesman. Colonel Roosevelt—who was then President Roosevelt—hesitated a moment, visibly compelling possible tomes into an epitome, and then presented an interpretation of the life and works of W. J. Bryan in six words and an intonation: "Mr. Bryan," he said, "is an *amiable* man." The italics are not mine; they are from Colonel Roosevelt's voice.

That was some years ago. Mr. Bryan has not retrogressed in statesmanship. He has lost a doctrine or two since then; he has had a doctrine or two thrust upon him; he has entered a Cabinet and withdrawn from it; and he is still, on the whole, an amiable man.

There is another amiable man who is still in President Wilson's Cabinet. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, yields to no man living in amiability. Recently, when the battle-ships were in the Hudson, he permitted an officer of a moving-picture concern to be married on board the dreadnought New York. He was criticised for it, but he answered, amiably: "I am first aide to Cupid, you know!"

This wedding took place at a time of crisis. It was on the evening of a day when President Wilson, having reviewed the fleet, and feeling his millions of countrymen with him, had made a memorable address outlining a National policy and defining the relationship of these same American battle-ships to that policy, and to the affairs of the world and the problems of humanity. His words, to the minds of millions, had endowed that fleet with a fresh dignity and a new idealism.

But to the amiable Mr. Daniels the moving-picture wedding on the deck of the dreadnought evidently seemed a fitting climax to the day's activities. It is true that naval officers themselves do not usually arrange to be married, even in ordinary times, on the decks of war-ships; the tradition of the navy, holding the ships in the highest respect, is all against that sort of thing. But the light, casual amiability of Mr. Daniels was not to be denied. If Ringling Brothers or Barnum & Bailey should ask for a certain number of admirals to march in their street parade, and Mr. Daniels amiably requested some of them to do it, I would not be greatly surprised.

* * *

I love statistics. Every so often the Census Bureau tells us that there is $1,965.37½ per capita in these United States. And instantly and automatically 2,173¼ newspaper wits shout back: "What this country needs is a bureau to show each one of us how to collect his quota." The quip is carved upon the Pyramids; and the Biblical injunction forbidding the rulers of Israel to number the people was a futile attempt to stamp it out.

* * *

Mr. Gouverneur Morris has discovered

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that Washington Irving didn't know how to write a good story. But somehow it doesn't seem to affect the classics when they are condemned by our industrious young merchants of fiction. Once there was an ant that kicked a pyramid.

* * *

There stands beside Henry Ward Beecher's old church a statue of Beecher making a plea for a couple of Negro slaves. A block or so distant the other day I saw a Negro boy enter a shop and call for a quart of ice-cream. He paid full price, but the shopkeeper skimped the quart. I asked him why. "I don't care for colored trade," he said.

DON MARQUIS.

THE SO-CALLED "PARLIAMENT" OF RUSSIA

BY GEORGE KENNAN

II—THE UPPER HOUSE[1]

THE upper house of the Russian Parliament is known as the Council of the Empire (*Gosudárstvenni Sovét*) and is very much older than the Duma. It was founded, as a consultative legislative chamber, by Alexander I in the early part of the nineteenth century, and was intended to be merely an aid to the Czar in the framing of laws. Its members were all appointed by the monarch, and it had neither initiative nor independent power. It drew up, discussed, and put into shape the *règlements d'administration publique* which were submitted to it by the Czar and his Ministers, but it had no further control over them. The monarch might reject any bill and throw it into the waste-paper basket even although the Council had unanimously approved it.

When Nicholas II, in 1905, decided to give Russia a Parliament, he conceived the idea of utilizing the Council of the Empire as an upper house. In order to connect it with the Duma and give it a quasi-representative character he made half its members elective; but he still retained control of it by reserving the right to appoint the other half, and by giving the selection of a large proportion of the elected members to the classes of whose support he felt sure, namely, the clergy, the nobility, and the landed proprietors. As now constituted, the Council has 196 members. Ninety-eight, including the President and Vice-President, are appointed by the Czar; while, of the other ninety-eight, 34 are chosen by the provincial assemblies (*zemstvos*), 22 by the landed proprietors, 18 by the assemblies of nobles, 12 by municipal boards of trade and industry, 6 by the Imperial universities, and 6 by the Orthodox clergy. The Czar names the appointed members every year and may make such changes annually as seem to him desirable. The elected members hold their seats for nine years, one-third of them being chosen at the end of every triennial period. The monarch, however, has power to remove any of them in his discretion, and to order that the seats thus vacated be filled by new elections.

By appointing 98 of the Councilors himself and giving to the classes that would naturally support the throne the selection of 42 more the Czar expected to control 140 votes out of a possible 196. This would give him a clear majority, on a full vote, of about 84. In practice, however, he has done even better than this. In recent sessions he has had a majority of from 93 to 98 in a total average vote of from 160 to 165.[1]

By this composition of the upper house the Duma has been effectively held in check and its powers, so far as liberal legislation is concerned, have been reduced to nil. A liberal bill does occasionally get a majority of votes in the Duma, but it is almost invariably rejected, radically changed, or indefinitely postponed in the Council of the Empire. Among the measures that have had this fate in recent sessions are bills to reform the lower courts, to promote elementary education, to establish *zemstvos* in various parts of the Empire where they do not now exist, to restrict the sale of alcoholic drinks, to enlarge the control of Parliament over the Budget, to admit women to the practice of law, to lower the tax on sugar, to permit change of religious faith, to

[1] Mr. Kennan's article on "The Duma" will be found in The Outlook for June 30.—THE EDITORS.

[1] "Year Book of the Petrograd 'Reitch' for 1914," p.160.

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facilitate admission to the universities, to allow judges to suspend sentences, and to authorize private citizens to prosecute in the courts officials guilty of illegal action. Some of these measures were summarily rejected without detailed consideration, while others were so radically changed that the Duma would not accept them in their amended form and they were consequently dropped. Nearly all of them were opposed in the Council of the Empire by the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Justice, or the Procurator of the Holy Synod.

Five years ago the upper house was called "the graveyard of progressive legislation;" and when it rejected the Religious Freedom Bill, in 1909, N. A. Khomiakof, President of the Third Duma, declared in a published interview that the lower house could not accomplish anything, first, "because its initiative was overwhelmed by the initiative of the Government;" second, because it was held in check by a reactionary upper house; and, third, because "the realities of Russian life do not admit of progress." [1]

Less than a year later the hostility of the Council of the Empire to the Duma became so active as almost to create a deadlock between the two houses, and Premier Stolypin himself was forced to rise in the Council and ask its members to cease their obstruction to legislation which had the approval of both the Duma and the Government. To this Councilor Zinovief replied that it was "the business of the upper house to point out to the Duma and the Ministry their errors."

Theoretically, both houses have the right to initiate legislation; but in practice the Council of the Empire often goes through an entire session without originating a single bill, and seems to think that it has done its whole duty if it has blocked every attempt of the lower house to modify or reform existing institutions. In 1910, for example, it disapproved nearly all Duma bills that had liberal features, including the Suspended Sentence Bill, the Workmen's Insurance Bill, and the Bill for the Relief of Old Believers, all of which had the sympathy, if not the approval, of the Government. Many provisions of the last-named measure had, in fact, been the law of the land for three years, the Czar having enacted them by ukase when Parliament was not in session. In 1911 a Duma bill providing for the extension of the educational pension system to Jewish teachers in the primary schools was disapproved because, as Councilor Karpof said, "the granting of privileges of any kind to Jews is contrary to the spirit of the times." In 1913 the Council postponed indefinitely consideration of a Duma bill for a reduction in the number of Church holidays, although the measure had already been in Parliament nearly five years. Shortly before the war began the Council rejected a bill (which had the support of Count Witte) providing that all the receipts from the vodka monopoly above a certain fixed sum should be devoted to educational purposes.

In setting forth the titles or the objects of a few of these bills my only purpose is to give the reader an idea of the attitude of the upper house toward even the most moderate of liberal measures, and to show what its own understanding is of its own functions. Generally speaking, the Council is now, and always has been, a bar to progressive legislation. There was a bare possibility that, even under the Czar's carefully contrived election law, the Duma might become liberal, and the upper house, therefore, was so constituted as to make it a sort of barbed-wire entanglement for legislative reforms. The Third and Fourth Dumas have been far from liberal in political complexion; but the attitude of the Council toward them, nevertheless, has been one of "unconcealed hostility." In speaking of this, Professor Maxim Kovalevski, who is himself a member of the Council from the universities, says:

"The upper house is regarded by the Duma as a brake on the wheel of the most undesirable kind, nullifying all its legislative work. The attacks of the Duma are becoming more and more frequent, and there is much to justify them. . . . The Imperial Council is not popular, and at the next elections the Opposition will probably talk of trying to cut its claws; but any attempt of the kind will be futile. It contains too many high officers of Court and knights decorated with the Order of St. Andrew, too many Knights of the White Eagle and St. Vladimir, too many former or future ministers, for the fear of displeasing the Duma or of opposing public opinion to have any influence on its conduct. Any change in the relations between the two houses can only be expected from a development of the constitutional instinct in the country; and this, as we know, does not come all at once."

[1] St. Petersburg "Reitch," December 8, 1909.

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If the Duma has practically no control over the Government, if the little power that it possesses may be curbed or thwarted by the Council of the Empire, and if both houses are unfairly chosen, under laws officially devised to protect the interests of the Crown, of what use is the Russian Parliament? From one point of view it is perhaps of no use; but from another its value is unquestionable. As a co-ordinate branch of a modern government it is a failure, and was intended to be a failure; but as a means of political education and enlightenment it must be regarded as a success.

In a country that is subject to autocratic or oligarchic rule nothing is more important than free speech. The Government may be arbitrary, incompetent, and inefficient; but if its acts are subject to review and criticism, if its measures are publicly discussed, and if its opponents are at liberty to propose and advocate measures of reform, the misgoverned people have an opportunity, at least, to know what is wrong and how it may be righted. The chambers of the Russian Parliament are the only places in the Empire where speech is free. The provincial *zemstvos* are not allowed to discuss national affairs, public meetings of a political nature are forbidden, and the newspapers of the country are restrained by a strict censorship; but in the Duma the representatives of all political parties—monarchists and Constitutional Democrats, reactionists and Socialists—are allowed to say what they like, provided they do not directly incite sedition.

Although the liberal "blocks" in both houses are comparatively small, they contain a number of men of unflinching courage and distinguished ability—such men, for example, as Milyukov, Shingarev, Rodichev, and Maklakov in the Duma, and the representatives of the universities in the Council of the Empire—and the speeches of these men, which are published daily in the newspapers of Moscow and Petrograd and copied more or less fully in the provincial press, are giving at least the elements of a political education to millions of readers in all parts of the country.

But this is not the only way in which the people are enlightened by their Parliament. Both houses have the right to make interpellations, and they exercise it to the fullest possible extent. Whenever an official or a department seems to have been guilty of an illegal or oppressive act, the Constitutional Democrats, the Octobrists, or the Socialists ask for an explanation from the Minister concerned. Scores of these interpellations are voted down by the house in which they are offered, and many more are smothered in committee; but they are all proposed, at least, in open session, if not discussed, and from them the public learns the nature of every evil that seems to stand in need of a remedy. In the First Duma alone the number of interpellations made was 380, and in the Third and Fourth Dumas the Government has been asked to explain scores of acts that have seemed to lack either legal or moral justification. Among such acts were the treatment of the Jews, the massacre of strikers in the Lena River gold mines, the flogging of political convicts, the use of *agents provocateurs* by the secret police, the continuance of martial law in time of peace, the exile of insubordinate university students by administrative process, the suspension of parliamentary sessions for the purpose of legislating by ukase, the interference of the Government in elections, the searching of the houses of suspected members of the Duma, the persecution of the press in connection with the Jewish "ritual murder" case, the arrest of school-children on political charges, and the arbitrary violation of the "fundamental laws." Some of these interpellations were adopted by one house or the other, and were answered by the Government, while others were voted down by the conservative majority or smothered in committee. All served, however, either to enlighten the public or to curb the lawlessness of bureaucratic officials.

In view of the influence that these speeches and interpellations have had in shaping national opinion, the usefulness of the Russian Parliament can hardly be questioned. It is not an independent legislative body which fairly represents the people, but it is, nevertheless, a great educating and emancipating force. Premier Kokovtsef was doubtless right when he exclaimed in the Third Duma, "Thank God, we've not got a parliament!" (meaning a parliament in the western European sense of the word), but Russia has at least two legislative chambers in which public affairs may be freely discussed; and, if they continue to exist, they may develop into a real Parliament in future years.

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TWO ON THE BATTLEFIELD

BY LUCINE FINCH

"Who are you, friend?"
"No friend. Your foe.
You shot me in the Battle of the Aisne."
"I?"
"You shot a bullet through my breast,
And ended all my hopes."
"And did you die?"
"I died, friend, cursing you."
"I prayed you would not die!
I shut my eyes and shot at you.
I prayed you would not die!"
"I died. But just before
My eyes were covered with that film
That shuts out light
I shot at you."
"Ah, you, then!"
"I."
"God help us both!"

. . . . . .

"What did you leave behind you
That you loved?"
"A woman, white as a pale flower,
And trembling like a flower
Blown by the pathless wind.
I held her to my heart,
And kissed her on the mouth,
And left her,
Trembling like a flower. . . .
And you? What did you leave?"
"My wife and my young child,
A boy with yellow hair
And wistful, questioning eyes
That smiled at me
While she wept, clinging to me.
I had to tear her strong young arms
From round my neck."
"God help the women waiting in the world!"

. . . . . .

"Here, take my hand.
I would our women folk
Could see us now,
Together, arm holding arm;
And weep upon each other's hearts,
Each comfort each,
For lack of us."
"The phantom hosts
On phantom horses, wild with fear,
Ride flying by
To seek and question God
Why this should be."
"Here, take my hand,
Dead brother whom I killed
And who killed me.
Let us go on together
Up to God,
And question with the rest."

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

THE CINCINNATI TORNADO

What a tornado may do in one limited area is seen in this photograph of the residence of Mr. Meyer Tannenbaum in Cincinnati as it looked after the storm of July 8. Two of Mr. Tannenbaum's children were killed. Over thirty persons lost their lives and the money damage was over a million dollars

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PHOTOGRAPH BY AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

BRITISH WOMEN HELPING TO MAKE AMMUNITION FOR USE IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE WITH GERMANY

Women workers, it is stated, have taken the place, in some of the ammunition factories, of men called to the front; that they are doing effective work in this new field is attested by the announcement that Lord Kitchener has publicly thanked these girl workers for their faithful service to the Government, to their countrymen, and to the cause of civilization

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THE SAYVILLE WIRELESS STATION, TAKEN OVER BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

In the interests of neutrality, the Navy Department has assumed control of the privately owned Marconi plant at Sayville, Long Island. It was feared that intelligence might be sent from this plant, which was under the control of Germans and at which German naval officers were stationed, to German submarines as to the movements of vessels leaving American ports with munitions of war. Such use of this station would, of course, have been a violation of neutrality

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A COSMOPOLITAN SCHOOL PRESENTS A SHAKESPEAREAN PLAY

The picture offers not only an interesting study in dramatic art, but also a striking exhibition of the cosmopolitanism of the population of Hawaii. The group consists of members of the Freshman class of Mills School, an institution for the education of Oriental boys in Hawaii. They form the cast of "The Merchant of Venice:" reading from left to right, the front row shows a Korean Portia, a Japanese Bassanio, a Korean Shylock, a Japanese Antonio, a Chinese Salarino, and a Japanese Nerissa. The Prince of Morocco, standing in the center of the group, is Chinese. The other characters are of various races. These boys are taught English, and their favorite author is Shakespeare

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PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

COLUMBIA STUDENTS VOLUNTEER FOR PEACEFUL SERVICE IN THE WAR

Stricken Servia, which has probably suffered more from disease than any other of the countries involved in the present struggle, has appealed strongly to the sympathies of American supporters of the Red Cross. A company of about twenty-five students of Columbia University, New York, just graduated, sailed recently on the steamship Themistocles for Red Cross work in Servia. With them go Dr. Harry Plotz and Dr. George Baehr, well known for their bacteriological investigations

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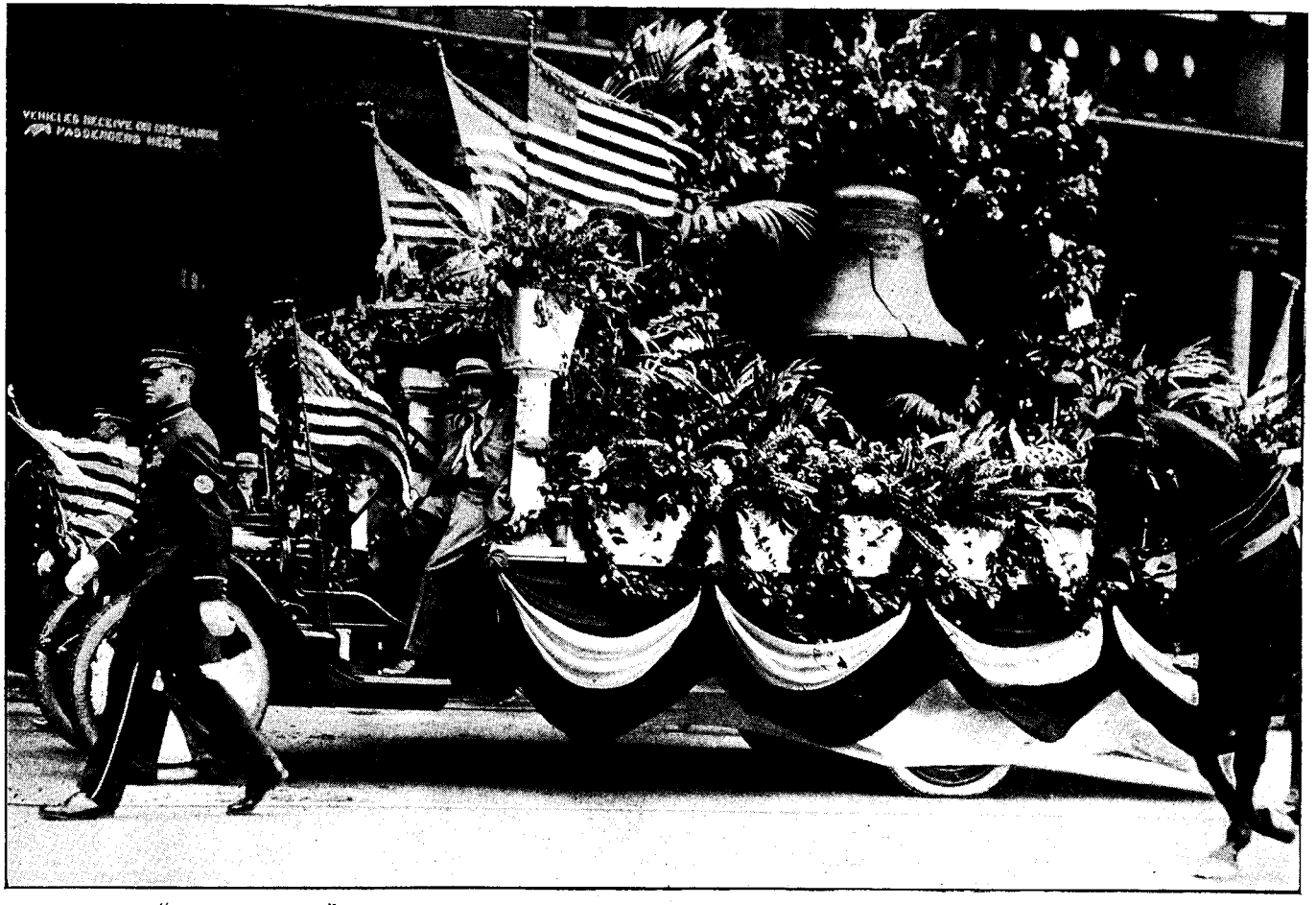

"LIBERTY BELL" CARRIED IN PROCESSION IN PHILADELPHIA, ON ITS WAY TO SAN FRANCISCO

Fifty thousand people, it is reported, were present at the Fourth of July ceremonies in Philadelphia, with the Bell as the center of attraction. The Bell started on the 5th on its 8,000-mile journey to the San Francisco Exposition and back. In this triumphal journey its lesson of patriotism will be instilled in the hearts of countless thousands of young and old Americans who would never be able to see the Bell in its home in Philadelphia

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TABLEAUX PRESENTED AT CALDWELL, NEW JERSEY, CELEBRATING THE FOURTH AND ALSO THE TOWN'S 225TH ANNIVERSARY
1. Indian. 2. Puritan. 3. Dutch. 4. Quaker. 5. Colonial. 6. American

SOME FEATURES OF THE RECENT "SAFE AND SANE" CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH

The steadily growing sentiment in favor of a celebration of Independence Day by pageants, addresses, and processions rather than by the unregulated use of gunpowder, which caused so many deplorable accidents in former years, has become Nation-wide and will soon, it is hoped, result in the universal acceptance of this better way of manifesting patriotism

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JEWS OF A GALICIAN TOWN

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

A GROUP OF THE POOREST JEWISH LABORERS OF A TOWN IN RUSSIAN POLAND

SOME INHABITANTS OF WAR-SCOURGED POLAND AND GALICIA

War brings misery to many non-combatants, but to the persecuted Jews of Russian Poland and Galicia, caught between the upper and nether millstones of contending armies, it has meant destitution, rapine, and death. The freedom and opportunity offered to Jews in America should make the strongest possible appeal to them to help the unfortunate members of their race in the warring countries of Europe, and generous-hearted Americans of whatever religious affiliation should heartily second their efforts to lessen the misery of a sorely afflicted people

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ON THE TRAIL OF PROGRESS AND REACTION IN THE WEST

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

EIGHTH ARTICLE

THE USE AND ABUSE OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY—THE STATE OF OREGON

THE unhappy conflict in political thinking between representative government and direct democracy, which has been so much a feature of recent political discussion in the United States, is due more than anything else, I think, to a misunderstanding of what democracy means. A genuine democracy is not a mass-meeting, a mob, or a wildcat system of direct nominations. A genuine and efficient democracy must have two elements: responsible and representative leadership and the final lodgment of control over that leadership in the instinct, the common sense, and the conscience of the whole people. When this country was young and the Nation was forming after the Revolution, there was great confidence in leadership, and very little confidence in the good sense of the mass of the people. There were reasons for this which grew out of certain distressing experiences during the critical period of American history which immediately preceded the making of the Constitution in 1789. The Constitutional Convention itself had for a chief object the curbing of what was again and again described in the debates as "the turbulence and follies of democracy." The early National period gives evidence of much faith in responsible and representative leadership, and particularly in legislatures, and of very little faith in the general participation of the masses of the people in government.

The vigorous growth of the democratic movement under Jefferson and Jackson is marked by a clear and steady decline in respect particularly for representative assemblies. This loss of confidence in representative government, which has continued to the present day, has grown out of the experience of the American people with the legislatures of many of the commonwealths. Notably in the last half-century they have been to an alarming degree centers, not only of waste, inefficiency, and corruption, but of treasonable disregard for the public welfare and treasonable subserviency to private interests. The rising tide of popular indignation has reached its maximum within the last fifteen years in the development of what is known as the initiative and referendum, by means of which the voters themselves pass over the heads of their legislatures and enact laws directly without the intervention of their representatives. This is direct democracy. It is now a part of the system of government in the States of Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, and Washington. A glance at the map shows that it is a phenomenon especially of the Middle and Far West—one more bit of evidence that the West is the heart of the democratic movement in the United States.

The characteristic of direct democracy is its deep-seated distrust of representative leadership, and its superior confidence in the instinct, the common sense, and the conscience of the mass of the people. There is no State which I visited in which this modern political tendency can be traced to its conclusion and partial confusion better than in the State of Oregon. Oregon is the native haunt of direct democracy. The Oregon system is well understood in this country, but my visit was the first opportunity I have had to study it on the ground. It includes, not only a system of direct legislation by initiative and referendum, but also the recall, the direct primary, a strict Corrupt Practices Act, and the freedom of home rule for the cities of the State.

The Oregon voter has an arduous task. Upon the official ballot at the election in November, 1914, appeared more than a hundred names of candidates, among whom choice had to be made for Federal, State, and local officers. Besides this there were twenty-nine measures referred to the people by initiative petition or by the Legislative Assembly. These measures were, with a few exceptions,

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markedly progressive or radical, and dealt with such important questions as the single tax, the abolition of the State Senate and of capital punishment, State-wide prohibition, an eight-hour day, unemployment, a non-partisan judiciary, municipal wharfs and docks, and proportional representation. In Oregon the clipping of the wings of legislative authority by powers reserved to the people is very complete. Not more than eight per cent of the legal votes are required to propose any measure on election day by petition, and a referendum upon anything passed by the Legislature may be ordered by a petition signed by five per cent of the legal voters. And at least until recently the electorate of Oregon have appeared to be very keen in their enjoyment of their reserved powers. Quite in the vein of the "Biglow Papers" runs the verse of a local bard:

"And Freedom's fair flag—'tis a pleasure to tote 'er
In Oregon here, as a well-equipped voter,
Where the highest and lowest in Punkindorf station
Can all try a hand in the State's legislation
In most any way that their sperrit may crave—
Long, long live THE VOTER, and long may he wave!"

The growth of liberty and democracy has rarely taken place without the substantial assistance of men and women of the more comfortable economic and social classes, but it has never taken place unless it was rooted deep in the instinct, the conscience, and the common sense of the plain people of a country. The Revolution of 1776 was accomplished not alone by Washington and the Adamses and Franklin and Robert Morris, but also by the Sons of Liberty, who honeycombed the colonies with their organizations of the common people. I was reading the other day in the diary of John Adams at the age of thirty that on the 15th of January, 1766, he spent an evening with the Sons of Liberty in Boston, "at their own apartment in Hanover Square, near the tree of liberty, a counting-room in Chase & Speakman's distillery—a very small room it is." And I was struck by the occupations and the evidently plain economic stratum of most of the men whose names he mentions as among those who were present: "John Avery, a merchant of liberal education; John Smith, a brazier; Thomas Crafts, the painter; Edes, the printer; Stephen Cleverly, a brazier; Chase, the distiller; Joseph Field, master of a vessel; Henry Bass; George Trott, jeweler. I was invited by Crafts and Trott. . . . I went and was very civilly and respectfully treated by all present. We had punch, wine, pipes of tobacco, biscuit, and cheese . . . no plots, no machinations. They chose a committee to make preparations for grand rejoicings upon the arrival of the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act, and I heard afterwards they are to have such illuminations, bonfires, pyramids, obelisks, such grand exhibitions and such fireworks as were never before seen in America. I wish they may not be disappointed." The democratic movement, whether revolutionary or evolutionary, needs to have, not only the leadership of the Adamses and the Morrises, but also needs fundamental rootage in the instinctive aspirations and beliefs and sense of right of its minute-men, its prison-ship martyrs, and its Sons of Liberty.

A normal growth towards liberty and democracy works upward out of the instinct and belief and conscience of the mass into the minds of the more open and unselfish and untrammeled popular leaders. W. S. U'Ren and his followers in Oregon, who really initiated the modern movement towards direct democracy which has come out of the West, have political kinship with the Sons of Liberty in Boston. U'Ren is the Samuel Adams, if you please, of the recent evolutionary movement in the United States towards a freer and more efficient political democracy. And he has aroused the antagonisms and has fallen into the errors which are encountered by and are common to men of that type. But he and his followers have been an originating propagandist center in this country of great power and vitality in the direction of larger liberty and better established popular rights. And it is significant and informing to compare with the Adams group of the Sons of Liberty who met in the basement room of the distillery in Boston that other group of more modern sons of liberty who first met with U'Ren in the early nineties of the nineteenth century in his cabin in Oregon to talk over the tyranny of the political machine and its alliance with privilege throughout the Nation. These were present: U'Ren, the leader and a lawyer; A. I. Mason, a carpenter and afterwards a letter-carrier; G. M. Orton, a printer; G. G. Curtz, a cigar-maker; T. E. Kirby, a wage-earner and official representative of labor; Nathan A. Pierce and W. D. Hare, agriculturists and official representatives of the

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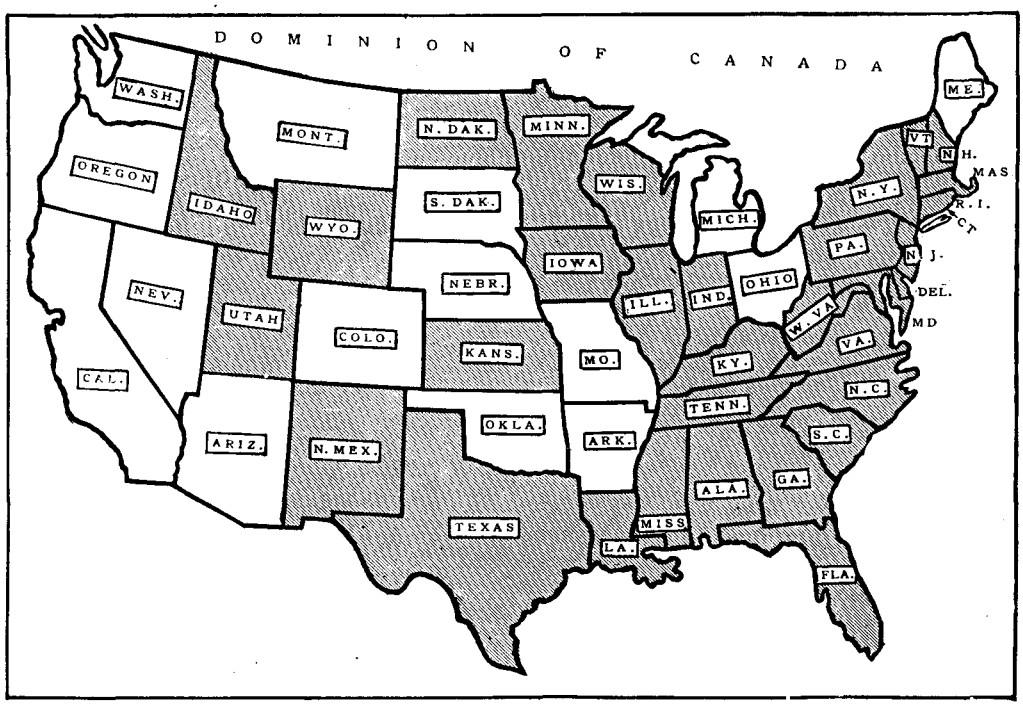

DIRECT DEMOCRACY

The white States are those which have the initiative and referendum

Farmers' Alliance and the State Grange. It appears again that not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but the farmer, the wage-earner, the small manufacturer, the average independent producer, is the propagating center of liberty and democracy in the United States.

The U'Ren group of political pioneers established the initiative and referendum in the governmental system of Oregon away back in 1901. Frequently since the voters of the State have been called upon to use this method of direct democracy to the limit. And there is no denying that the Oregon electorate has become far more than ordinarily keen in the exercise of its direct prerogative. It has carried the practice so far that, in my opinion, it has become in that State a real danger to the development of responsible and representative leadership, and therefore to genuine representative government under the Constitution. It has had a clear tendency to undermine and weaken the position of the Governor and Legislature of the State. Much of the standing and influence of the Governor has been taken away by two developments: first, the Constitutional veto power upon legislation has practically been denied him upon all important measures passed by the Legislature—they may now be directly referred to the people, following the petition of only five per cent of the voters; second, the Governor is shorn of a large amount of responsibility and power by the fact that he is, so far as many natural executive functions are concerned, merely the chairman of some board or other in which he has one voice and one vote. This refers, for example, to such highly important public matters as the control over all public institutions and over the public highways. The result is the cutting, in the Governor, of the nerve of public leadership, an operation which is fatal to that highly useful development of the responsibility of the executive which is taking place in the country at large. The present Governor, James Withycombe, is a kindly elderly gentleman of agriculturalist persuasion, who is concluding a happy and serene life in the enjoyment of the final honors which have come to him through the support and loyalty of his friends. His Message expresses becoming humility towards the Legislature, and more towards the voters, and a general realizing sense of his relative unimportance in the Oregon scheme of things. He appeals against the tendency toward decentralization which he sees all about him, and pleads for more power

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and more usefulness if it be the legislative and popular will. But his case is hopeless so long as the tide runs as it has long been running in his commonwealth.

And the Legislature. It has fallen so low in public esteem that the Portland "Oregonian" in 1914 undertook the patriotic duty of practically becoming the sponsor for the nomination and election of a group of twelve men to the lower house from Multnomah County, of better quality and standing than the recent representatives of an unsupervised direct democracy. The descent of representative government to Avernus is easy when the cumbersome, hide-and-seek two-house legislature is retained, and at the same time responsibility can be shifted upon the shoulders of a five per cent referendum.

There is evidence that U'Ren himself sees clearly that such a feeble and disorganized representative system and such extreme direct democracy cannot long exist side by side. As early as 1912 the U'Ren group referred to the vote of the people of Oregon the proposal of a single legislative body to be chosen through the plan of proportional representation, in which the Governor was to have a seat and an enhanced power of leadership. The proposal was defeated, as it also was in 1914, but in some similar form it is likely to work out in Oregon and many other commonwealths as the Nation-wide reorganization of State governments proceeds. One complication in the working out of this and further reforms in Oregon by the U'Ren group is that the U'Ren backing does not just now carry the weight which it formerly did. There are two reasons for this, as I see it. In the first place, from the standpoint of the normal development of the National democratic movement, U'Ren has erred in introducing the single-tax agitation into his scheme of things. But, in the second place, U'Ren is up against the difficulty which every splendid fighter in the cause of democracy meets. The law of diminishing returns applies to the appraisal by democracy of its personal leaders as truly as it applies to continued doses of land or labor or capital in industry. There is such a thing as fighting the battle of democracy in the front rank too long. It is ever the Aristides experience over again. Everybody remembers Aristides —the sturdy citizen of the Athenian democracy, who was one of the generals at Marathon, one of the victorious captains at Salamis, the conqueror at Platæa, who put through with a punch a very much needed programme of civic reform in Athens, and helped organize the Delian League with the purpose of making Greece a real nation at the time when she was able to be one. He pushed the Athenian democracy to the point of diminishing returns; the people had an attack of fatigue, escorted Aristides to the city gate, and bowed him into the ostracism of silence. That has been the way with democracies. They get over their blue funk after a while. Everbody in Greece is for Aristides now. But he is dead. And it is too late. It is yet a question whether the American democracy has learned its lesson from history so that it knows how to value its Aristides citizens, little and big.

Some of the leading conservatives of Oregon, who are the opponents of U'Ren, would by no means be called reactionaries in the East. That is a curious difference at this point between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Honest conservatism is much more advanced out there, and the conservatives in Oregon are right, I think, in demanding a less radical use of the method of direct democracy. What this mighty growing complex Nation needs now is not merely the final lodgment of power in the hands of the whole people, but also an opportunity for the development of responsible, representative, expert leadership of the first order. And the two things are not antagonistic. They are complements of one another. The initiative and referendum are too freely used in Oregon. They ought to be hemmed about in Oregon and elsewhere by conditions which would make of them emergency remedies, emergency checks, to be employed fully and freely by the people when there is genuine need—and then only.

There is some evidence in the returns of 1914, when the electorate was called to pass judgment upon twenty-nine legislative and constitutional proposals, that the rapid changes and choices of direct democracy are no longer so agreeable to the Oregon voter. Only four measures got through, and the rest were buried in an avalanche of Noes, and the people didn't do it as if they were worn and weary, either. They wiped out the ill-fated twenty-five proposals as if from a stern sense of duty. This sudden firm decision of the Oregon voter seems to be attributable to two causes: in the first place, he has come to see that he has no right to vote upon a good many matters about which he has little

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understanding, and he therefore votes No; in the second place, the European war and the partial economic distress in Oregon because of the reduced tariff upon lumber and wool and the general sense of National depression, all led him to the conviction that it was no time for rapid change. He made an exception of prohibition, which he evidently regarded as a deeply moral as well as economic issue for which his mind has had long preparation.

This same election of 1914 throughout the whole initiative and referendum area of the West throws a flood of light upon the alleged dangers of direct democracy. Altogether, nearly two hundred proposed laws and constitutional amendments were passed upon by the people of these States. Looked at from the standpoint of what the people evidently wished to do, it must be said that in general they did it intelligently and well. They decided that it was no time for many experiments, particularly radical experiments. They defeated from two-thirds to three-fourths of all the changes suggested. It was not done in blindness, but, in the main, with discrimination. There were reactionary proposals on the ballots, but the voters did not adopt them. There was no falling off in the interest in direct voting in those States. There was an increasing interest. Men and women too registered their will in increasing majority opinions. From sixty-one to seventy-eight per cent of those who voted for governor or congressman also voted upon the popularly initiated proposals, whether trivial or important—a greater number than in former years.[1] Upon moral issues, which the people clearly and instinctively understood, they did not withhold the hand. But they were cautious about social and economic experiments. In other words, they were conservative at a time when it seemed to them wise to be conservative; eager, but careful. Certainly here is no peril from "radical minorities." Certainly here are caution and conservatism from increasing majorities.

Have we not now evidence enough in this country upon which to base at least tentative judgment with respect to the unhappy conflict between the supporters and the opponents of so-called direct democracy? Are the methods of representative government and of direct democracy irreconcilable in the United States? Are not the supporters and opponents of each partial in their mental attitude towards the other? Is it not the main point that we should strive by all means to develop in our commonwealths a far more skilled and expert and responsible leadership than we now possess? What is so much needed in America as a higher and stronger type of public leadership? We have power and wealth and a teeming vital population of a hundred millions. Do we not chiefly lack cohesion, organization, and efficient and unselfish guidance and direction? Human nature being what it is, can popular government survive which does not provide for the constant bringing to the front of the leadership of the wisest and the best? The chief indictment of the political machine in the United States is that it succeeds in stifling independent and fearless and unselfish action on the part of public officials. If the flood of direct democracy should contribute to the further weakening of open and responsible and representative leadership, as I am sure it has done in the State of Oregon and some other places, what is that but to play finally into the hands of the foes of liberty and progress?

The matters upon which the mass of the people, necessarily bent upon a livelihood, should ordinarily be called upon to pass judgment, are few and simple and fundamental. The perplexities of government and progress should be worked out by responsible representatives. But it is also true that the people should be left in the position easily and flexibly to register their opinion upon any matter whatsoever if it becomes necessary as a check upon reaction or because of a treasonable disregard by their representatives of their interests. And the spirit of the West is once more sound, from the broad standpoint of freedom and right, in its feeling that, as things are in America, a measure of direct democracy is necessary in order to make representative government workable. But the initiative and referendum should be employed with restraint. It should be the gun behind the door, the remedy in emergency, the quick-acting but ultimate check upon substantial error and wrong. It is perfectly easy to make it this, not only by an increase of the required percentage of voters upon an initiative petition, but, better still, by having the legal and popular demand for redress or betterment pass first through the Legislature and be thoroughly discussed and sifted there.

[1] *Cf.* "Analysis of the Popular Vote on Constitutional and Legislative Proposals in the General Election of 1914," by Robert E. Cushman, published by the "New Republic."

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This method, which is now beginning to be looked upon with favor in the West, at once honors and dignifies the people's chosen representatives, and at the same time secures reasonable deliberation upon change. If the Legislature fails in what seems to a fair percentage of the voters to be a duty, the matter may then go to the people at the polls.

It is precisely from this point of view that the method of the direct primary needs modification. The direct nomination of candidates for public office is reckoned by some persons as a form of direct democracy, but it is really not that at all, but rather a pure illustration of the application of the principle of representative government. When the members of a party vote directly on primary day for some one of their number to represent them upon the general ballot on election day, that is the genuine representative principle. The old method—for the maintenance of which the political machines so long stubbornly contested, by which the people at the bottom voted for delegates who met in convention to elect other delegates to go to a State convention to nominate candidates—was a diluted form of representative government never contemplated by the Constitution; and it played into the hands of the cunning psychological experts known as bosses, who usually in the end succeeded in choosing the delegates all the way up the ladder, and settled things according to their own sweet liking. The direct primary has swept the country, and, although there is much criticism in many States of the way it works, there is not the slightest chance of its being given up by the people, except for something still better and more effective. It is well known and appreciated all through the West that it was the direct primary which completely demolished the intrenched railway machine which so long defied political and social progress there.

The next step in advance is to work into the direct primary the principle of responsible leadership, for leadership democracy in America must have, and will have, either openly or secretly, by fair means or foul. It is fighting the instincts of human nature to oppose it. Again from John Adams's diary we may perceive how deeply is the necessity for it rooted in the history of American politics. Boston, February, 1763. "This day learned that the Caucus Club meets at certain times in the garret of Thomas Dawes, the adjutant of the Boston regiment. He has a large house, and he has a movable partition in his garret, which he takes down, and the whole club meets in one room. There they smoke tobacco until you cannot see from one end of the garret to the other. There they drink flip, I suppose, and there they choose a moderator, who puts questions to the vote regularly; and selectmen, assessors, collectors, wardens, fire-wards, and representatives are regularly chosen before they are chosen in the town. Uncle Fairfield Story, Ruddock, Adams, Cooper, and a *rudis indigestaque molis* of others are members. They send committees to wait on the Merchants' Club, and to propose and join in the choice of men and measures. Captain Cunningham says they have often solicited him to go to those caucuses, they have assured him benefit in his business, etc." For the benefit of any unsophisticated Outlook reader, I will say that *rudis indigestaque molis*, when used in a political connection, means a bunch of roughnecks.

And Gordon, in his history of the American Revolution, writes that in 1774 "Mr. Samuel Adams's father and twenty others, one or two from the north end of the town, where all the ship business is carried on, used to meet, make a caucus, and lay their plans for introducing certain persons into places of trust and power. When they had settled it, they separated, and used each their particular influence within his own circle. He and his friends would furnish themselves with ballots, including the names of the parties fixed upon, which they distributed on the days of election. By acting in concert, together with the careful and extensive distribution of ballots, they generally carried the elections to their own mind. In like manner it was that Mr. Samuel Adams first became a representative for Boston."

The preliminary "unofficial" conferences which are now held under the direct primary from New York to the Pacific coast by all parties are the direct descendants of the garret and subterranean gatherings of both the earlier and the later periods of popular government in America. And the instinct cannot be stifled. It should rather be legalized, and made responsible and open; otherwise, a secret cabal, whether benevolent or malevolent, is sure to flourish and be a continuing source of irritation in a democracy. Governor Hughes met this problem squarely while he was the executive in New York. He proposed, as an essential part of the

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democracy of his direct primary plan, that representative State leaders, freely chosen by voters in the local Assembly districts, and without power legally to perpetuate themselves, should in the most open manner and with the most careful legal restriction, make the initial suggestions of State candidates for office. But the final determination upon these suggestions, and upon all other suggestions which might likewise be freely made by petition, should lie with the whole body of enrolled voters in each party on primary day. With this open and responsible and legalized leadership at the top, through a popularly elected committee or a popularly elected State convention, and with the town meeting re-established everywhere at the bottom, the direct primary would fulfill the needs of both representative and direct democracy far better than it does at present. The direct primary at present drives leadership to cover, and makes no place for those splendid mass gatherings and discussions in the small units of the Nation which formerly cleared the air and informed and trained the electorate, not only in New England, but in many other parts of the country.

It is from the same standpoint that the recall, except within narrow limits, is unsound and even vicious in principle. It is a blow at calm and deliberate and dignified and continuous leadership of a kind which democracy greatly needs. As conditions are in America, most men of real ability and power shun public office and a public career as they would a pestilence. If you add to the difficulty of bringing such men to the front under a threatening and deadening machine system the further threat of popular misunderstanding and disapproval before they have time to show what is in them, we shall never get efficient leadership at all. Before we begin to talk much of the *re*call in the United States we must make it worth while for men of weight and will even to listen to the *call.*

The recall is based upon the old hire-and-fire theory of employer and employee, that the people should be given an opportunity to exercise the prerogative of getting rid of their public servants at their pleasure, without necessary proof of misconduct or maladministration, and without judicial review. The State of Washington is an exception. There the petition for recall must recite "act or acts of malfeasance or misfeasance" and the Constitution does not deny judicial review.

The practice of the recall has given pause even to the radical democracy of the West. It has had quite general application in commission-governed cities, but very slight application as a State-wide system. Very few States make use of it, the chief of these being California and Colorado, which have been stung to exasperation by corporation-owned officials, particularly judges of the higher courts. And the percentage of voters required to start the petition for recall is much greater than in the case of the initiative and referendum. The people of the West seem to realize that in this particular innovation they are playing with dynamite.

The recall is a two-edged sword. And it may harm far more than it helps. Even in city government, those who have studied the psychology of opposition to a new administration know that in the course of the usual four-year term of the mayor, for example, the antagonisms both rational and irrational lump themselves at about the two-year period, just when the recall under the law is usually made operative. If the mayor of a city is to be recalled at all, he should have a six-year term, and the recall should be applied at the three-year period.

And to talk about the recall of judges is to begin at the wrong end of a much-needed reform. The judiciary is not well adapted to the prevailing elective system. Men of the right temperament to be judges are usually not good campaigners. In the past their nomination and election have frequently been looked after for them; that is, they have been machine-made or corporation-made or both. We have got many good judges in this way, but it is a bad way. The non-partisan direct election of judges is a very little better. Partly because the voters do not get their eye upon the judges as they do upon the governor, and partly because the better campaigner has the better chance, inferior judicial demagogues are likely to slip in. And yet the people ought to have final control over their judges, as over every other policy-determining officer. And judges in America are certainly policy-determining officers in a good many public cases.

These experiences and reflections are leading the minds of many thoughtful persons in the country towards a semi-appointive judiciary for the commonwealths, by which the Governor, the natural and responsible leader of public opinion, who is coming to be held more strictly to account by

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the people than any other public officer in the State, shall first recommend persons for the higher judgeships. Their names shall go upon the ballot with the words after them—"Recommended by the Governor." In the same group shall be any other names suggested by a sufficiently large number of petitioners. And on election day the people shall choose between them. Here you have the element of responsible leadership under the final control of the people themselves. If this does not correct certain evils of our judicial system, we shall then be obliged to give the people more direct final control over judicial lawmaking itself, or else be driven to the practice of all other civilized nations, of separating entirely the function of judicial lawmaking from the function of adjudication.

To summarize the substance of our experience with direct democracy, there need be no essential antagonism anywhere between leadership and popular rule, between representative government and direct democracy. The two ought everywhere in our governmental system to be complements of one another. For practical and pressing considerations, and under the present conditions of our politics, direct democracy should lend itself to the development and strengthening and the final control of *leadership*, and not to confusion and chaos.

JAPANESE STORY-TELLERS' TALES

AS RETOLD BY KEISEKI MATSUMURA AND DONE INTO ENGLISH BY C. M. CADY

HAKUIN JENJI

(THE HATER OF HYPOCRISY)

THE next story is almost the exact opposite of the first.[1] There the question was, how to act in regard to wrong done to a friend; and the answer was, to stand by the friend to the last limit of strength, to avenge the wrong at any cost. Here the question is how to act when the wrong is to one's self.

The scene is in the quietness of a Buddhist temple, whose head priest, Hakuin Jenji, was known far and wide as an exceptionally holy man.

Hakuin was seated in his study one warm afternoon reading. In a low, not unmusical voice, he was intoning the words of a sacred book of his faith. So absorbed was he that when his servant entered the latter was obliged to touch his master to make him understand that a farmer wished to see him. Usually the priest would meet the visitor in a small room to the left of the principal entrance to the living-rooms attached to the temple; but, for some reason—perhaps because he could go on for a few minutes longer with his reading—he told the servant to show the man into his private room.

This so impressed the servant that he told the farmer that it was an almost unheard-of honor, and that he must act accordingly. The result was that when ushered into the presence of the priest he knelt just inside the door and patiently waited until the holy man had finished his reading, and also—we are sorry to relate—had quite forgotten he had a visitor, and nearly stumbled over the kneeling man as he started to go out. Recalling then that he had invited this visitor into his private rooms, he sat down and inquired kindly what was wanted.

The man seemed very much embarrassed. He bowed his head to the floor several times, he hemmed and hawed, he opened his lips as if about to speak, but only to shut them and draw in his breath with a trembling, sibilant sound, while at the same time he seemed afraid to raise his eyes to the face of the priest, who silently, though not unsympathetically, awaited an audible answer to his inquiry.

Indeed, the farmer was in a most embarrassing situation quite apart from the unusual and holy associations. He knew the priest was known, far and near, as one almost without reproach, and yet he had come to reproach him. He realized that he

[1] For the first of these tales see The Outlook for July 14. —THE EDITORS

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had very personal reasons for feeling most reverentially grateful to this holy man, for had he not performed the last sacred rites over the body of his wife and sons and had declined to receive more than a very small fee in the shape of a gift of a little money for the general support of the temple? And yet he had come to claim a very large gift as a sort of penalty.

The man finally, with every show of reluctance and embarrassment, began, interspersing nearly every sentence with a bow:

"Reverend sir, I am a poor man, you are a learned priest. Holy father, I am in great trouble and hardly know what to say or do. I am a humble farmer, as you know, and not well-to-do. I have only one child left, a daughter. I lost my wife and sons, as you know, some three years ago. My daughter is seventeen, and has taken care of the house besides helping me in the fields since her mother died. I am a poor man; I was planning to adopt some likely young man in my village and have him marry my daughter. About a week ago I spoke to her about the matter; she seemed much alarmed and embarrassed, and I pressed her for the reason.

"At last she confessed she was already married secretly. I was greatly astonished, never having suspected it. At length she confessed she had married you. I could not believe it, but she declared it was true.

"I hope you will excuse me and take pity on me. I am a poor man, you know—I have come to talk with you about the matter."

During all this time Hakuin had sat still, with not the shadow of shame or embarrassment on his face, only saying, "Yes, yes," to this grave charge. When the man stopped and ventured to raise his eyes to those of the priest, he was surprised to hear him say, quietly:

"Yes, yes, I will do something for you," and then stop with a look of inquiry. Again the embarrassed tones and bows, but with less hesitation than before the man went on: "Reverend sir, you see how it is. I am a poor man and shall need some one before long to take care of me. As I said, I had expected to adopt a son-in-law who would support me when the time came; but now, as you see, I cannot carry out that arrangement. I did not believe my daughter, but now I—I—well—I am a poor man."

"I said I would help you," was the answer, in the same impassive tone, as though the mind of the speaker were away off in the field of thought whence he had been called by the entrance of the farmer. "Yes, I'll help you. How much will satisfy you?"

The farmer was fast losing his fear and awe, and even respect, for this strange man who admitted such a charge and offered to pay the penalty with utter lack of feeling. Evidently this holy man was not much different from any one else. Still custom was strong, so again he made a profound bow, but did not repeat it, as he said with monotonous reiteration:

"I am a poor man, as you know, and since I can have no children to support me I shall need 300 ryo."

"Yes, yes," said Hakuin, as he called a servant and bade him get 300 ryo of his private funds, and, handing it to the astonished man, bade him good-day with a kind word for his future, and turned again to his reading.

The farmer, on his part, went home muttering to himself: "Ah, they all respect Hakuin most highly and call him a living Buddha, but I know he is quite different from what he looks. He is a fraud, an impostor, and a hypocrite. However, there is no use making a fuss about the matter. I must be content with the 300 ryo. I'll not tell even my daughter that I have the money."

Some two or three months after this the daughter learned that her father had been to Hakuin Jenji, and, on the strength of her word, had extorted 300 ryo from him. She was greatly surprised and troubled in mind. "I have done a great wrong," she said to herself. "I never thought father would dare go and speak to Hakuin, the holy priest, about the matter, and that was the reason I used his name. What a shame! I must go and clear him of this false charge. If I should let him go on wearing wet clothes [suffering under false accusations], I know not what terrible punishment may fall upon me." The thought tormented her so that she finally went to her father and confessed the whole truth, giving the name of her real husband, a young farmer of the place.

Of course the farmer was greatly cut up by this confession, and blamed himself for too carelessly and too hastily condemning the priest as a fraud. Still, he did not quite see how the priest-story could be untrue, for the priest had virtually admitted it by not denying its truth, and also by paying him the money demanded.

Accordingly, he saw the young farmer and

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asked him whether he was really his daughter's husband. The man at once admitted it to be true and begged his pardon for not acknowledging it before.

The farmer lost no time in setting off for the temple and begging a second interview with the priest.

This time his bows sprang from genuine respect as he said:

"Most reverend sir, I have come to confess that I misjudged you the last time I was here. My daughter has confessed that she did not speak the truth when she declared you to be her husband, and I have found for a certainty the man in the case is a young neighbor of ours. I do not know how to apologize enough for this mistake. I can only return the 300 ryo you gave me and beg your forgiveness."

So saying, he handed the money to the priest, who took it as unconcernedly as he had given it, merely saying, "Yes, yes. Give my blessing to your daughter and her husband." [1]

HOJO SOUN

(A MODEL FEUDAL LORD)

ABOUT five hundred years ago the power of the Ashikaga was fast declining, and many feudal lords had established themselves in various parts of the country, each bent on swallowing up as many of the others as possible. To fit themselves for ruling, if not for conquest, it was not uncommon for young nobles, sons of the feudal lords, to attach themselves to the court or body-guard of some friendly neighbor, and, by thus subjecting themselves to authority, learn how to command. Among these young lords was one, Hojo Soun by name, who was secretly fired with the ambition to become overlord of all Japan. As a youth he was of commanding figure and also lofty ideals, deeming that the real secret of success was to be found in one's personality rather than in mere ability and learning. Self-discipline, therefore, became his supreme occupation, and he pursued his aim even while traveling about the country, studying its topography and looking into the conditions of each domain of the various feudal chiefs.

In the course of this tour of investigation he happened to come one fine day to the top of the Hakone Mountain, which commanded a glorious view of the Pacific Ocean. Entranced by the scene, he sat down and spent hours in deep meditation, and finally gave vent to his thoughts and feelings in the following soliloquy, which is almost a literal translation:

"What a grand ocean! I recall the old saying, 'Hundreds of rivers run into the sea, but the sea never overflows.' A man cannot accomplish anything great unless he has a soul like this ocean. The expanse of the sky and the depth of the sea are fit emblems of a great man's heart. Those who are easily vexed, or those who show likes or dislikes to everybody they meet, those who are forever looking out for little faults in others, those who delight in publishing the faults of their neighbors—such men can never become great rulers over the people.

"Ah, thou vast ocean! Thou acceptest dirt and mud, but thou art never foul thyself. I admire thee for thy toleration. When no wind bloweth, thou lookest like Buddha's face, calm and peaceful; but the moment the wind ariseth thou roarest like the roll of many thunders, terrible and ferocious. Such is the mind of a true hero. May Heaven grant me such a mind!"

At this time the land swarmed with robber bands of men, as it was a time of continual war and battle between rival lords. Hojo, therefore, showed courage and confidence in himself by going about alone and unattended,

[1] My foreign readers may be a little puzzled by the position taken, the attitude assumed by Hakuin toward the utterly false charge brought against him by the farmer.

You will miss its true significance if you interpret it as mere indifference, a sluggish, stupor-like frame of mind which does not feel insult at all or resent injustice, as every honest man does the world over. It is not callousness to the wrong, but absolute confidence in the right. Hakuin knew himself to be guiltless in the matter; he knew that Heaven knew he was innocent, therefore it was not worth while bothering enough over the matter to deny it, and prove it false, if the case should come to the need of that. The truth in the matter will come out and be known in the end, so why trouble to help bring about what is sure to come itself? Even if death should overtake the wrongly accused before the false accusation should be known as such to the world, still, so long as the truth is known to one's self and to Heaven, it does not matter. The very thought of proving one's innocence is repugnant to the innocent soul, and the idea of calling upon the courts of law to establish that fact is not to be thought of under any circumstances. In short, the position taken and taught by Hakuin both by precept and example is only the carrying out to its logical, and often bitter, end the position of every upright public man who disdains to notice every little newspaper squib of a political opponent.

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especially in this Hakone region. Lost in thought, our hero did not notice the sudden approach of one of those roving bands on their way over the Hakone Pass. Seeing a well-dressed Samurai wearing gold-handled swords sitting alone on a rock, the robbers deemed him easy prey, and determined to strip him. Surrounding the silent man, their leader demanded who he was and why he had ventured into their territory.

"Don't you know," he said, "that no one is allowed to go over this pass or be in this region except by our permission and the payment of toll to us? You are to be pitied, my brave bird, for getting into the snare, but you must pay the penalty, so deliver over those fine swords and take off those silk clothes."

"And do it quickly, too," added his lieutenant in a louder tone, as Hojo continued in profound meditation, paying not the slightest heed to the leader's demands; indeed, he scarcely heard them at all and made not the slightest move toward doing as he had been ordered. Exasperated by this indifference, the leader again demanded, in louder tones, the swords and garments. "Don't you hear me, you fool? Come, be quick and don't loiter, or we may be compelled to take them from you."

Still that far-away look over the sea and the low-toned muttering to himself. Upon this the whole band fell to shouting at him at the top of their voices, threatening him with death if he longer delayed.

Now Hojo was a celebrated swordsman, and no more feared the entire band of armed and utterly lawless men than Araki Mataemon feared the pupils of Hidanokami. He might easily have killed or scattered them all; but it was not worth while thus to disturb his self-training. What were two swords or costly robes when weighed against discipline of self? To give up or interrupt the latter to save the former would be beneath the wise man bent on self-control. So, quietly taking off his swords and garments, he tossed them over toward the robber chief, simply saying, "You are annoying, fellows," sat down again as he was, and calmly finished his meditation; for the robbers, now that they had everything they wished, cared not a straw what became of the stripped man, and so left him to his self-culture.

It is no wonder that success came to such a spirit and that later Hojo made himself the greatest of all the Daimios and overlord of the eight eastern provinces of Japan. His contention that character was the only real foundation of success in a ruler, backed up as it was by his own bright example, soon gathered many great warriors under his banner as a general, and after he had gained power brought many to live under his sway. To this day Hojo Soun is still a source of inspiration to the youth of Japan.

THE NEW BOOKS

Through Central Africa. By James Barnes. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $4.

Mr. James Barnes has never put his name to an uninteresting book. He has to a marked degree the instinct for telling a story so as to bring out all the color in the story. Like his others, so his latest volume emphasizes this quality. The countries described—East Africa, Uganda, and the Congo—certainly afford a rich field for any one who wants to tell a story, especially if that story has to do with big game, as this story has. A particular interest in this volume for readers (whether they are just casual readers or possibly themselves mighty hunters) will lie largely in the effort made by Mr. Cherry Kearton to get rare photographs. Mr. Barnes and Mr. Kearton planned the trip together. The book should be read by those who seek scientific knowledge concerning the fauna and flora of Central Africa. Of course, from the standpoint of geography, interest attaches to any description of Central Africa because of the war now in progress, which may change the map of Africa more certainly than that of Europe. The book should also be read by those who would gain a better idea of the conditions confronting the civilizing and evangelizing efforts in Central Africa. In narrating his voyage down the Congo, Mr. Barnes gives us the following noteworthy and inspiring page:

I was leaning over the rail of the steamer when a figure joined me. It was the tall White Father, who had told me in a conversation that he had been out there for nineteen years. His hair and beard were snow white, but he was hardly more than fifty years of age. For one of his calling he was very broad-minded, and he spoke French and English and a half a dozen native dialects fluently. Knowing that all the official passengers, including ourselves, were bound for Matadi and for the steamer that would take us away from Africa, I asked him if he were

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going to Europe also. He looked up at the sky and out at the dark shore line.

"No," he said, rather sadly, "we do not go back. You remember what Livingstone, the great English missionary, said, when urged to return? 'My work lies here.'"

I tried to recall the last words written by the great man whose name he had mentioned, which ran somewhat as follows: "May blessings fall upon the head of that man, be he Jew, Mohammedan, or Christian, who brings relief to the sufferings of these unhappy people." Yes, under that bright star-spotted sky lay one of the sore spots of the earth. Along the plague-swept banks of the great river lies work for men, not creeds or propaganda. The best results—the only lasting good—will be performed by those who, entering on their labors, will not turn back because the task seems hopeless.

Life of a Citizen (The). By J. Augustus Johnson. The Vail-Ballou Press, New York. $2.

In his very interesting prefatory note Mr. Brander Matthews recalls the familiar statement that the life of any man is worth writing so long as it is written honestly. Unfortunately the great majority of the men and women who are the natural leaders of men do not take the world into their confidence. There is room, therefore, for the autobiography of a less ambitious sort; and it is to this class that this autobiography belongs. It tells very simply and quietly the story of the life of an American citizen; a man of unusual ability who became in a true sense a public man, not because he took any part in political life, but because, in the larger definition of that phrase, he contributed to the life of the Nation. He was a patriot of that greatly needed type who are not only ready to die for their country, but, what is much more difficult, to live for it.

All his life Mr. Johnson was an American citizen, doing what he could to advance the standards of American citizenship and to make American life synonymous with integrity and intelligence. Born in New England, he spent his boyhood in the Middle West when the great debate which preceded the Civil War was closing; he was a youth in Washington during that struggle. In early manhood he acted as Consul-General in Syria; in his later life he was a lawyer in the city of New York, representing large interests, both public and private. He was a man of rare force and courage. He showed the possession of both these qualities while in Syria during a time of great disturbance and repeated massacres. He was an active and aggressive fighter for the redemption of New York City from the Tammany gang, for no other word describes that so-called political but really predatory association. He was a member of the Committee of Seventy which rescued New York from the thieves who had gained possession of the city. He also took a leading part in the formation of Good Government Clubs; he had much to do with the activities of the Legal Aid Society; and during the later years of his life he devoted himself with untiring energy to the service of the sailors who throng the port of New York and are compelled to accept the worst possible physical and social conditions.

Mr. Johnson's life was overshadowed by a great tragedy, which he bore with wonderful courage. Mr. Matthews says of him with entire truth: "He fought the good fight; and he shared in the victory."

Unity and Missions. By Arthur Judson Brown. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.50.

There are two kinds of organic union, and Dr. Brown sees but one—union by merger of many into one, *e. g.*, the consolidation of the Cumberland Presbyterians with the Presbyterian Church. The other kind, union by federation for co-operative effort, as in the American, British, Chinese, and other federated churches, he treats as merely "expedients for unity." But Dean Hodges, an Episcopalian, says of such federation: "It is virtual reunion as far as it goes; . . . it is the beginning of the solution of the problem." No one in his senses would propose a merger of these United States in one State. The federation of churches for Christian work is, in fact, an organic union on that easily practicable line.

Early Church (The). By George Hodges. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.75.

Dean Hodges has the extraordinary grace of interestingness. It has been said of him that, the narrower a text seems when he reads it, the more strikingly comprehensive does it become as he develops it. This means an ample background of knowledge and thought; it means a deep religious experience and rich intellectual associations. Dr. Hodges never discusses either ideas or institutions in isolation; one of the secrets of his unfailing interest is his habit of seeing things in connection, so that the big thing brings the little thing into view, and the little thing always suggests the big thing.

Church history is for most people very depressing reading. Instead of getting something which explains the power and persistence of the Christian religion in its organized forms, they get accounts of theological debates, many of them so remote from our time that they are smitten with a ghastly unreality, and quarrels about order and organization which seem to religious-minded readers to lie very much on the surface of things.

"The Early Church" is a book of a different order. It is fresh in treatment, vital with ideas, and it brings out the underlying relationships between persecutions and creeds, between political changes and the development of religious organization. It gives an account of the Roman world; of the persecutions and martyrdoms of the early Christians; of the defense of the faith against heresy and prejudice, which bore fruit in the early creeds; of the organization of religion, forced upon the Church by vital changes of society; of the great Arian debate,

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which was of critical significance in the history of the Church; of the rise and meaning of monasticism—these subjects are invested with extraordinary interest. The saints become human, the theologians lose their air of abstraction, and the vital logic of Church history is revealed in the successive chapters of a book in which there is no dull page. Men of the rigidly orthodox school, either in doctrine or in organization, will read this book with many inward protests and much active dissent from its positions and conclusions; but to the reader who approaches the subject with a fairly open mind it has a singularly persuasive quality.

Societal Evolution. By Albert Galloway Keller. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

Professor Keller notes it as one of the difficulties of the social sciences that they have no such orientation as Darwin gave to the natural sciences. This is what he here undertakes, and gives some of the reasons for its validity. In the life of societies he finds the same processes as in that of natural organisms, viz., variation, selection, transmission, adaptation, albeit with a difference of modes; *e. g.*, instead of the structural adaptation of organisms to their environment, that of societies is mental and social. The societal mode of these evolutionary processes is displayed in the "folkways" of primitive groups, and these are "the irreducible elements in any stage of civilization." These folkways (a people's way of acting) become, under social or religious sanction, authoritative "mores" (morals). Their perpetuation, however, depends on a societal selection analogous to natural selection in the Darwinian scheme, and as massive and elemental as that. Whether it be instinctive and automatic or rational, the basic ground of it, alike on the highest and lowest stage of civilization, is social self-maintenance.

These principles are lucidly developed and copiously illustrated by a simple presentation of instances in a large variety of social groups and more or less civilized societies. Professor Keller looks to the future for any large influence of rational selection on the mores. "We are all mainly creatures of use and wont. . . . Seldom does a group deliberately set out to apply rational criticism to its mores."

A personal as well as scientific interest attaches to this masterly monograph. Its author was the pupil and is the successor of Yale's great teacher of political and social science, the late Professor Sumner. He presents in this volume "an extension of Sumner's work" on "Folkways," with frequent citations from this and his other writings.

Guerra dei Popoli e la futura Confederazione Europea (La). By Ettore Ponti. Ulrico Hoepli, Milano, Italy.

Among the interesting books published concerning the war which are dipping beneath the surface Senator Ponti's volume should be included. He considers the future, as if out of the war Europe had come to be a confederation. The difficulty with the book is that it is rather too academic in form; hence most readers will turn with some impatience to the author's conclusion, in which he shows that the ideals of justice and of solidarity must have their proper results. At this time, when Italy has come actively into the war, the publication of such a volume will doubtless do good primarily in Italy itself in animating the people with high ideals of democracy and good government for all.

Life of George Augustus Gates (The). By Isabel Smith Gates. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. $1.

This little volume of seventy-eight pages tells very simply the life of one who fought a good fight, and tells it without the least suggestion of bitterness against the enemies who at times made that fight one hard to be endured. The writer has done what in such a case it is always wise but always difficult for a wife to do—left the life and character to produce their own impression on the reader.

Tennis as I Play It. By Maurice E. McLoughlin. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $2.

To those of the younger generation who aspire to any tennis honors or wish to play a fair game this book should be an immense help. Mr. McLoughlin (who was National lawn tennis champion in 1912 and 1913) writes frankly and gives sound advice based on experience. He gives just enough information to be of help and not enough to confuse. The more difficult strokes are illustrated by excellent photographs. The book is written in an entertaining way, which makes even the plainest facts seem interesting.

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BY THE WAY

"Start a bedside library," says Dr. Osler to young physicians, "and spend the last half-hour of the day in communion with the saints of humanity." The advice might be taken with good results by many others. Instead of thinking over the cares and troubles of the dying day, let the tired wooer of balmy sleep read a page or two of his "bedside library" and lie down to pleasant dreams. The library might be started, perhaps, with Marcus Aurelius or Thomas à Kempis, or possibly Æsop or Montaigne. If the Bible is too conventional a suggestion, perhaps the Apocrypha might be worthy of consideration—it contains, among other gems, an apposite word for book-lovers: "The more thou searchest, the more thou shalt wonder."

In a discussion of the evolution of oil-carrying ships before the Institution of Petroleum Technologists in London the interesting fact was brought out that the present method of carrying oil in bulk, which has almost entirely superseded the former practice of using barrels or tins, was first adopted many years ago by the Chinese. Except for a minor detail, it was declared, there is little difference between the old Chinese oil-carrying junk and the bulk oil-carrier of to-day.

The best tonic in the world is a happy visit, says a farmer's wife who writes to an exchange to tell how she took a ten days' vacation in a simple way. "I took my two baby girls with me and left all my other cares at home. I saw a great deal of the beautiful country of five counties, as well as many places I had loved as a child. I met many old friends and schoolmates. I surely did enjoy it, and I wish every mother would plan such a trip." This farmer's wife was fortunate in having many relatives in these counties, who were delighted to entertain her.

The picturesque four-in-hand coaches that in former days made a fitting counterpart to the thoroughbreds of the race-track have passed into the discard, says "Rider and Driver" in commenting on the recent "Brooklyn Handicap Day," and in their place have come sightseeing buses, touring cars, and motor-driven vehicles of all descriptions. These conveyances and the subways brought some 20,000 people to see this race. Though the horse has been displaced by the machine on the roads, the thoroughbred himself has not deteriorated, apparently, for Tartar, the horse that won the race, broke the record of the track by doing a mile and an eighth in 1 min. 50 3-5 sec.

Real cooks, one imagines, rarely get their recipes from books; can one think of a genuine French chef thumbing over the printed page to learn how to make his delicious concoctions? But those who are not in his class may possibly learn from others' reports, and here is one that sounds well, from a country contributor to the "Agriculturist:" To roast a fowl, always place the bird on its knees, not its back. The juices will then naturally fall, making the white meat juicy and delicious, instead of dry and tasteless as in the ordinary method.

The London "Academy" quotes from a French feuilletonist these examples of careless writing, which suggest the slipshod English of some American or English newspapers rather than French preciseness: "The man's hands were cold and clammy like those of a serpent;" "The count paced up and down the garden reading the newspaper with his hands behind his back."

The best-dressed farmers in the country apparently live in California. In an advertising questionnaire 566 farmers gave the cost of their clothes. Of these, 116 paid from $10 to $15 each for their suits; 143, from $15 to $20; 142, from $20 to $25; 26, from $30 to $40; 3, from $40 to $60. Two of the three in the last-named class were from California, and twelve of the twenty-six who paid from $30 to $40 were also from the same State, the next greatest number from any one State in this class being six from Texas.

The special European correspondent of the "Railway Age Gazette," in an appreciation of the work of the French railways in contributing to the defeat of the German invaders at the Battle of the Marne, says: "Often irritable in small things, the French railroad man, trained in a hard school, is never seriously annoyed for any long period by any kind of a job. When all seems lost, he begins to look for daylight. War, anyway, is an energizer, and it has found a fertile field in the French in the midst of their greatest trial."

Captain Francis P. Peirson-Webber tells in the "Outlook for the Blind" how he became a successful poultry-raiser, though sightless. So adept has he become in this vocation that he can tell the weight of an egg to the fraction of an ounce, can determine its freshness, and even what breed of fowl laid it. He is now county adviser in poultry culture to Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, England. He hopes to persuade "every one, who has the opportunity, to keep not less than ten good hens, so as to provide a household economy which shall yield an average of 1,500 eggs yearly, the hens being fed almost entirely on household waste-scraps prepared the right way."

A contributor to an English periodical writes from Ober-Ammergau that war has made no impression upon that peaceful village except for the departure of some of the younger men. Anton Lang—the Christus—has not been called upon to fight, but has qualified himself for Red Cross work.

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